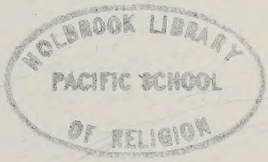
QUAKER HISTORY

The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association



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The
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of
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Historical Association

Vol. 49 Spring Number, 1960 No. 1

FRIENDS FOR SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS

By HOWARD H. BRINTON *

I have been asked to make observations on such parts of modern Quakerism as have come within my own experience. I consent to do this, but not without hesitation, for it requires too often the embarrassing use of the first person singular pronoun. In writing my own retrospect I can understand why Quaker Journals were never — with a very few exceptions and these are modern — published until after the death of the journalist. In spite of the valid reason for this practice, I shall attempt to give you a few extracts from a never-to-be-written Quaker Journal of today.

In the course of my seventy-five years I have come in contact with all known and some unknown groups that use the name of Friends, or Quakers, in the United States, Canada, England, Europe, and Asia. Three main types of Friends emerged in America in the nineteenth century, Hicksite, Wilburite, and Gurneyite, to

*Howard Brinton, author of *Friends for 300 Years* and other important studies in Quaker thought and history, celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday on Seventh Month 24, 1959. He was asked to speak on "Friends for Seventy-Five Years" at the Annual Meeting of Friends Historical Association, held at the Race Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, on Eleventh Month 30, 1959.

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use names given them by others, names which I shall employ for the sake of brevity, though they were not used by themselves. In the twentieth century these three are criss-crossed with other lines of division, resulting in a very complex situation which I fear may give my paper an involved and controversial character. To observe the requisite brevity I shall confine my reminiscences to four outcroppings of contrary opinions in our religious society. In order to preserve a slight appearance of unity in this paper, though not among Friends, I shall interpret these as varieties of a single difference of attitude which has always been with us and always will be — the difference between a religion which is inwardly directed toward the Divine Spirit within man and a religion which is outwardly directed toward historical events, beliefs, church authority, and social service. To state my own position at the start, I believe that in the main Quakerism is inwardly directed, but not exclusively so, for the inward must be checked and saved from vagueness and extreme individualism by some degree of dependence on history, reason, the authority of the whole group, and the consequences of social concern. Today, when unity is the watchword, even where unity does not exist, it is considered bad form to talk about differences, but historians should not fear to attempt to understand the differences of the past. Perhaps they should also be honest enough to face differences in the present.

First, I may say that I was myself a product of the two parts of our Society which separated in 1827. I shall say little about this separation, as it has been dealt with at length by Quaker historians. (I am sorry not to say more about Race Street in this Race Street building.) Second, I observed in my early years the remnants of the Wilburite-Gurneyite controversy in Philadelphia (Arch Street) Yearly Meeting. This I shall deal with at more length because I believe that Quaker historians have not adequately portrayed it. Our three most widely read Quaker historians who have dealt with our later as well as our earlier history, Rufus M. Jones, Allen C. Thomas, and Elbert Russell, were all members of the Five Years Meeting. In my opinion they were not sufficiently aware of the Wilburite character of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street). Third, my middle years witnessed the

fundamentalist and modernist tendencies in the Five Years Meeting which created differences now as intense as ever in some areas with possibilities of new separations. And fourth, I have participated in the partial fusion of two tendencies existing in the new non-pastoral meetings in America, one the trend toward complete freedom, individualism, and independence (what one Friend has called "Neo-Ranterism"), and the other the tendency toward a greater degree of organization and interdependence.

I

My ancestors for eight or nine generations were nearly all Friends. I know this because I have discovered the names and religion of some 400 of them, all settlers or descendants of settlers in early Pennsylvania. But I myself was not technically a birthright Friend, for my father was Orthodox and my mother Hicksite. They were married by a Friends ceremony in the presence of the Mayor of Philadelphia. Their marriage certificate is worded like any other Quaker marriage certificate, and the names of the witnesses are duly affixed. At a later time my mother was received into the Orthodox Meeting and so was I. At the time of this transaction William Scattergood maintained that, since the somewhat isolated group in Lancaster County to which my mother belonged had never been disowned by the Orthodox, I was a birthright member. In the summertime on my uncle's farm adjoining Penn Hill Meeting near the Susquehanna, I was accounted Hicksite. Since my mother's ancestors were descended from a band of Friends led by William Penn himself to set up a Quaker settlement in Nottingham in order to establish title to territory also claimed by Lord Baltimore, I was related to nearly all the Friends in that area. From one couple, for example, I am descended in four different lines. A sociologist might well study the effects of intermarriages in this region. In West Chester, where I grew up, the Hicksite and Orthodox meetings had no dealings with each other of a religious character, but the younger members of both, being aware of a common outlook, formed themselves into a single intimate social association where religious differences were never mentioned nor were they understood. My father's partner in business was a prominent Hicksite, Herbert Worth, and many joint social occasions for both meetings such

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as picnics and excursions originated in the office of Brinton and Worth. On one occasion my father went to a wealthy Hicksite, Philip Sharples, to beg money for the new Y. M. C. A., which was to be open only to members of evangelical churches. They became so bogged down in a theological argument that the interview ended in a laugh and a contribution.

The meeting in West Chester in which I grew up was of a decidedly Wilburite character and from it I have inherited a Wilburite point of view. In this meeting the facing benches, where my grandmother sat, were filled with Friends wearing plain coats and plain bonnets. The preaching was of the oracular, prophetic type, sometimes delivered in a melodious chant, never doctrinal, always a simple, direct appeal for obedience to the inward admonitions of the Spirit. Its object was to arouse religious feelings rather than religious ideas. The ministers, I felt, were afflicted with an inward burden until they yielded to the requirement to speak. Although as small boys we invented games to pass the time in meeting, sometimes even we felt the wind of the Spirit blow over us as from a supernatural world beyond and above. Our response was awe, wonder, and reverence. I can understand why the Catholic priest chants in Latin, the Buddhist priest in Sanskrit, and the Islamic Imam in ancient Arabic, though these languages are unknown to their hearers. The Wilburite type of sermon, though not concerned with a logical presentation of ideas, often had in it a quickening, elevating, purging effect which no intellectual discourse about doctrines or social concerns, however edifying, can convey. We had no First Day School. Such an institution would have been thought to result in a confusion between the intellectual and the religious. However, I was aware of the first adult study group, which sometimes met in our home. It was led by Dr. Henry Goddard and met secretly like a group of bootleggers in the days of prohibition.

II

I well remember Philadelphia Yearly Meeting held at Arch Street in the early years of the present century. Here one could see the fading embers of the conflict which had plagued the Yearly Meeting ever since the visits of Joseph John Gurney in

1838 and '40. There had been in the Arch Street Yearly Meeting three parties, a large Wilburite majority mainly from the country, a small Gurneyite party mostly from the city, and a middle party which had Wilburite leanings but was anxious to take a position which would avoid conflict and separation. Philadelphia officially defended the Wilburite party in New England in 1849, four years after the separation there, and recognized the Wilburite body in Ohio in 1855. The Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia (Arch Street) in 1855, 1856, and 1857 were stormy occasions. In 1856 the Gurney party, led by Israel Morris, adjourned to Twelfth Street after the close of the Yearly Meeting, but the aged Samuel Bettle, leader of the middle party, appeared there also and convinced them of the evils of separation, which the Yearly Meeting had already experienced twenty-nine years before, when he was Clerk. He obviously regretted the prominent part he had taken in that earlier separation. In 1858 comparative peace was secured by eliminating all correspondence with other Yearly Meetings, thus avoiding the storm of protest when the Ohio Wilburite epistle was read. Care was taken then and later not to rescind the Wilburite recognition. The history of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street) up to World War I can only be understood if this fact is recognized. Official pamphlets from Philadelphia continued to put forth arguments against Gurneyism. There was a constant exchange of ministers with Wilburite bodies. English Friends coming from London, which had recognized the Gurney bodies, were surprised to meet with a cool reception in the Arch Street Meeting, which they supposed to be quite as orthodox as they were. Benjamin Seebohm, for example, was astonished when he was not permitted to have meetings appointed for him in some country areas.

The difference between Wilburite and Gurneyite was not superficial. The Wilburites emphasized right experience as essential to salvation, the Gurneyites right belief. The Gurneyites accused the Wilburites of being "mystics." The Wilburites accused the Gurneyites of subscribing to an intellectual religion "afloat on the surface." Neither was entirely right in its judgment. Though the Wilburites believed in the work of the Christ of history as essential, their preaching was confined to the necessity

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of the work of the Inward Christ, who, if yielded to, would transform the Christian into the likeness of Christ. For the Gurneyites Christ's work of redemption was completed on the cross, and acceptance of that sacrifice was the primary means of salvation. The Wilburites excluded formal Bible teaching, believing that all genuine religious activity must have its origin in the direct, immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Since the Gurneyites laid great emphasis on the Bible as the primary source of right belief, Bible teachings and lectures on religion were for them essential. A Hicksite historian, Samuel M. Janney, writing in 1867, observed that Jonathan Evans and others who had earlier opposed Elias Hicks, took very nearly the same position as Hicks in their opposition to Gurney. There were differences between Wilburites and Hicksites but there were also similarities, particularly belief in the primacy of the Spirit.

I have expressed the difference between Wilburite and Gurneyite in extreme terms.[1] There were, of course, all degrees of variation, but it is important to note that we are distinguishing here a difference between emphasis on the inward and emphasis on the outward, between a religion which cannot be taught but must be inspired and a religion which can be taught. Our Quaker colleges were set up by Gurneyites with the exception of Swarthmore, but in Hicksism there was an element of rationalism which was congenial to higher education. It is paradoxical that the more mystical Wilburites in Philadelphia did not accept Rufus Jones while the less mystical Gurneyites did. But Rufus was a teacher of religion. It was a long time before he was allowed to sit on the facing benches at Arch Street, but, as I heard him remark in this room in regard to the Friends who then occupied them, "I was teaching their sons." It was his teaching and other teaching in summer schools at Haverford, Swarthmore, and elsewhere which led to a radical change in Philadelphia Quakerism, both Arch and Race. Alfred Garrett came to West Chester about 1900 and gave us our first lecture on Quakerism. It was a surprise

[1] This difference is not to be confused with the difference between John Wilbur and Joseph John Gurney. The latter, toward the close of his life, issued a declaration of faith much closer to the Wilburite view than the views expressed in his earlier writings.

to find that Quakerism meant an important, coherent body of doctrines and practices rather than a set of peculiarities.

The Philadelphia Gurneyites, though a minority, had considerable substance and influence. Haverford School (later Haverford College) was Gurneyite, while Westtown was Wilburite. Penn Charter was Gurneyite while Friends Select was Wilburite. The *Friends Review* (later *The American Friend*) was Gurneyite and *The Friend* was Wilburite. The Book Association was Gurneyite and the Book Committee of Arch Street Yearly Meeting, Wilburite. But the difference was most apparent at the Yearly Meeting itself. At Arch Street, where the Wilburites were in the ascendant, the only committees to report were the Indian Committee, the Westtown Committee, and the Education Committee. Much of the time was taken up with religious discourses which had little, if any, relation to the business before the meeting. There were occasional periods of silence.

But in the late afternoon and evening of four days of the Yearly Meeting something very different was taking place at the Twelfth Street Meetinghouse. While the excellent food served at the tea meetings and the social opportunities afforded were probably the most attractive features for young persons like myself, there were other undertakings which the Wilburites could claim were also appealing to carnal appetites. There were reports from the Friends First Day School Association, the Friends Missionary Association, the Temperance Association, the Peace Association, the Freedmen's Association, the Indian Aid Association, and other groups concerned with the social order, extension, and young Friends. Also at Twelfth Street reports could sometimes be heard from the North House Friends Center for Social Work, Benezet House, the House of Industry, Aimwell School, and other institutions suspected of creaturely activity. The Friends who were weighty at Twelfth Street, among whom were Isaac Sharpless, George Barton, Henry Scattergood, and Rufus Jones, were not the weighty members at Arch Street, among whom were George Scattergood, Samuel Morris, Zebedee Haines, and Elhanon Zook. To say that these Twelfth Street tea meetings were essentially Gurneyite is confusing, for Gurneyism in other parts of America has developed into Yearly

Meetings which are evangelical and often fundamentalist in doctrine, and these groups at Twelfth Street were generally intellectual (except, perhaps, for the Mission Board) with a strong social outlook. But just as Twelfth Street was the stronghold of the earlier evangelical aspects of Gurneyism, so it became the stronghold of the later social type. As mysticism can and sometimes does merge into rationalism (both being inward), so evangelicalism can and sometimes does merge into a religion of social service (both being outward). If evangelicalism is mainly concerned with living conditions in the next world, social service is mainly concerned with living conditions in this world. Each requires the same general attitudes though with different objectives.

Wilburite and Gurneyite each included something of the other, but the difference in emphasis was serious, for it resulted, outside of Philadelphia, in a difference of practice so great that Gurneyism developed the pastoral system while Wilburism, in its reaction to this change, resulted in even more intensive waiting for immediate divine guidance in all concerns, religious and social. It is, as you can see, appropriate that the Service Committee should have been located at Twelfth Street and that many of its leaders should have come from the Five Years Meeting. If a separation had occurred in 1856 (as it nearly did), Twelfth Street Meeting might eventually have had a pastor. The Friends Mission Board, centered at Twelfth Street, had no objection to pastors in Japan. When, at the Friends World Conference in London in 1920, Carl Heath proposed a union of missionary and service activities, Wilburite Friends attending the Conference strongly opposed it and prevented the Conference from endorsing it.

Eventually, in a single generation, the tendencies characteristic of Twelfth Street prevailed, and those of Arch Street became submerged, though not completely. The change began in 1916, during the first World War, when Arch Street sent out a letter to all Yearly Meetings everywhere on the importance of adhering to the Quaker peace testimony. It was not, however, until 1924 that annual epistles were addressed to all Friends. Slowly, one by one, the associations centered at Twelfth Street knocked at the door of the Yearly Meeting and were admitted:

the Peace Association in 1916, the Mission Board (now the Japan Committee) in 1923, Indian Aid in 1924, the First Day School Association in 1929, the Temperance Association in 1930. In 1918 the Social Order Committee, in 1927 Extension, and in 1925 Young Friends became concerns of the Yearly Meeting with places on its agenda. In time many of these committees came to have employed secretaries, counterparts, in a way, of what the Wilburites impolitely called "hireling ministers." The older method whereby a concern originating with an individual was taken up by a meeting was replaced by committees appointed to implement inherited concerns. The words "creaturely activity," instead of being a serious criticism pointing to the absence of direct inspiration, became a humorous epithet.

Few younger Friends now remember what the Wilburite type of Friend was like. He (or she) seemed to live from within, unaffected by the conventional behavior and frame of mind of what was called "the world." Because he was peculiar in dress and speech he could more easily become a pioneer in peculiar, unpopular causes. He possessed a certain spontaneity, often bluntness of speech and, occasionally, a sly humor and gentle roguishness apparently out of keeping with the solemnity of his bearing when engaged in religious exercise. He combined the more contemplative Greek inheritance of Christianity with the more prophetic Hebrew inheritance. I became best acquainted with this type during my two years of teaching at the Friends Boarding School near Barnesville, Ohio, an experience which confirmed and strengthened what I had received from West Chester Meeting. There I discovered that my plain coat, though in this case outwardly directed by the school committee, did not correspond with my inward state, a reversal of Quaker theory.

III

My third chapter is concerned with my experience of the controversy between the fundamentalist and modernist points of view in the Five Years Meeting. These trends are both outwardly directed as compared with the contemplative and prophetic types of Quakerism, which emphasize centering down in silence and patient waiting for divine inspiration, though, like all forms of religion, they also have their inward side.

I was for a long time in intimate and congenial contact with the Five Years Meeting: six years at Pickering College near Toronto, four years at Guilford College, and six at Earlham College. Although my opinion of the nature of Quakerism differed radically from that of my colleagues, I always cooperated with them and was never conscious that differences of opinion affected friendship. When I consented to occupy a pulpit, as I occasionally did, I took the opportunity to explain my conception of Quaker worship. I remember that, in addressing a conference of pastors of Indiana Yearly Meeting, I urged them gradually to lead their congregations into practices more consistent with historic Quaker ways. They respectfully listened and replied that this was impossible; their congregations would not accept it. A leading pastor, Charles Woodman, thought that such a change could be a case of "both-and," but Walter Woodward agreed with me and with most of the pastors that it was "either-or." I still believe that a compromise type of public worship does not do justice to either method. Friends can seldom center down in less than half an hour for worship in silence.

In Canada the members of the leading Quaker family, who were also the principal supporters of Pickering College, were evangelical. They had just moved the college from Pickering to Newmarket so as to be near a Quaker Church with an experienced pastor. I think this place was unique in showing vestiges of four branches of Friends within a few miles. There was a nearby Hicksite meeting, an equally small Wilburite meeting, the pastoral meeting in the town, and a fantastic temple, constructed according to Solomon's prescription, without sound of hammer or use of nail, by the "Children of Peace" or Davidites, a combination of Quaker mysticism and Jewish ceremonialism. This group had split off from Friends in 1812. It gradually died out toward the end of the century.

The recent union of the three branches of Friends in Canada in 1955 represents a thoroughgoing change there. This change is illustrated by the fact that when the Biennial Session of the Friends General Conference was held in Toronto in 1904, the Gurneyite Friends took pains to inform the public that these were not true Friends. Traces are still present in the newly united Yearly

Meeting of Hicksite rationalism, Wilburite mysticism, and Gurneyite activism, words which all three would probably repudiate; but a common mode of worship on the basis of silence now unites them on a level deeper than that of any "ism."

From Pickering College I went to Guilford College in 1915. There I found myself in the midst of a bitter controversy between two parties. A new President had just been appointed by one faction. He was opposed by the other. After two stormy years he resigned, and in a very hot summer I went to North Carolina to take his place for the time being. In this position I remained until the end of the following summer. It was a difficult year, as the military draft took away most of our men teachers. Two summers at Guilford were largely occupied with efforts to build up a student body. Travels in this cause took me to all parts of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. I remember particularly a visit to Yadkin County at the foot of the mountains. This county had furnished Guilford College with several fine ball-players who distinguished themselves later in more than one World Series. I was looking not only for good students but also for good ball-players who would win for us another state championship. Having an appointment at a certain remote Friends Church, I arrived at the suggested hour but found no audience. After waiting some time, I went to a neighboring house and stated my situation. The Friend there replied, "You should 'ave rung the bell. We'd all 'ave come." Later I had an appointment at their Quarterly Meeting. Here I found Friends gathered in a large field in which were four platforms, one at each corner, on which four preachers were exhorting their hearers with evangelistic fervor. I was told that I would be given a platform as soon as one was vacant. Not feeling equal to the situation, I retreated to my car.

The causes which produced the controversy in the college do not fall within the limits of my subject, but I can include a brief account of the meeting held on the College grounds in a building where the Yearly Meeting also convened. As was the case at Earlham College during the same decade, Guilford College was an island of modernism in the midst of an environment largely dominated by fundamentalist pastors. When our Greek professor was asked by a group of pastors whether he accepted the Bible as

wholly true, he bewildered them by inquiring to which of the differing early manuscripts they were referring. They immediately withdrew.

During my first years at Guilford College the Sunday morning meeting on the campus was unprogrammed or nearly so. There were a number of ministers, including ex-President Lyndon Hobbs, and Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, distinguished personalities whose weight and power commanded reverence, Mary Woody whose fervent prayers, we felt, really reached their goal, Josiah Peele whose graphic anecdotes aroused student interest, Julia White, our scholarly college librarian, and a group of young upstarts from Haverford, including Mark Balderston, John Downing, and myself. With this array I did not, as dean of men, find it difficult to persuade the students to go to meeting. But suddenly to our surprise a pastor was employed, and the meeting became completely programmed. There was no longer the spontaneity and variety which characterized the unprogrammed meeting, and it was far more difficult to persuade the students to attend.

The reasons which induced meetings to change from an unprogrammed to a programmed type have often been debated. As a contribution to this subject I shall list the causes of the change at Guilford as I remember them.

1. A small group of weighty evangelical Friends did not like communications of a more modernistic nature. By securing a pastor they secured control.

2. Many persons in the neighborhood had been taken into membership. These newcomers had little sympathy with, or understanding of, the Friends' way of worship.

3. The Christian Endeavor Society of the meeting was large and successful. Its members had won a banner for being the best in the state. Yet they sent a petition to the meeting asking for professional leadership.

4. The Yearly Meeting authorities, particularly the evangelistic Superintendent, were exerting pressure on all meetings to produce a more controllable structure. They also wanted more evangelism of the revivalistic type.

I think that in enumerating these four points I have indicated causes which operated in many other places. It has sometimes been

said that pastors were introduced because the older type of meeting had become too silent and dull, but I have discovered no example of this. The unprogrammed meeting at Guilford was far from dull.

The change to the pastoral system, which had come about gradually throughout the Yearly Meeting, tended to give less opportunity to Friends of the older type who had remained in the Gurneyite body when the separation occurred in 1904. But these Friends had their opportunity at Yearly Meeting. I remember Rufus King rising in Yearly Meeting and saying, "There are four Friends here who are talking too much, Thomas Newlin, Franklin Blair, Lewis McFarland, and Rufus King." This was a mixture of bluntness and kindly humor characteristic of the "Quaker of the olden time." When I went to High Point to occupy the pulpit, Rufus King was the only person present who knew the Quaker language appropriate for approving the service of a visiting minister. Once I met him on the road in a car with a flat tire. He promised to give me his daughter Arabella, who was with him, if I would fix the tire. I fixed the tire, but I didn't get Arabella.

Before my time at Guilford College, President Lyndon Hobbs had usually recruited his teachers from Haverford College. President Binford, who succeeded me, drew his mainly from the Middle West. This brought Guilford more in line with the thinking of the Five Years Meeting. When I ventured to organize a financial campaign for Guilford, Isaac Sharpless came down to lend a hand. He brought with him some very helpful Philadelphia money. Two of my memorable experiences were driving Isaac Sharpless about to meet his various appointments and later conducting Henry Scattergood, who appeared resplendent in the uniform of a Red Cross commissioner. He was listened to by large crowds in various cities as he showed slides illustrating the Quaker work in France.

The years 1919-1921 were full of Quaker experiences, most of which I shall pass over. The first was spent in the office of the American Friends Service Committee, sitting opposite Wilbur K. Thomas, at that time the only salaried staff officer of the Committee. He was capable of doing the work of a dozen. A weighty delegation of English Friends came to America to prepare Americans for the 1920 All-Friends Conference. To arrange the itinerary of most of them was a responsibility during which I learned a good

deal about American opinions of English Quakers and English opinions of American Quakers. I remember especially Herbert Corder's vivid description of his adventures on the Kansas prairies.

I spent the year 1920-21 in child-feeding under the AFSC in Germany. English Friends there had more freedom and more ability than we Americans had in explaining the principles of Friends. But a few Americans who were outside the restrictions imposed by the American Relief Administration on the rest of us did engage in spreading the Truth. I remember, on leaving a meeting addressed by Carolena Wood in German, hearing one German say to another, "These Quakers believe in guidance by the Holy Spirit, but the Holy Spirit apparently does not understand the genitive case." When John Fletcher and I went to attend a meeting of German pacifists, we expected to find a few eccentrics meeting in a garret. Instead we found a large hall filled to overflowing with attenders and speakers from a number of pacifist organizations. The German feeling that the Allies did not live up to promises made in Wilson's Fourteen Points was to some degree responsible for the later rapid decline of the German pacifist movement. In the plebiscite area of Upper Silesia, where I was located for most of my time in Germany, during the Polish invasion of that district, the English and Germans fought actual battles against the Poles and the French. News of these encounters was suppressed and is still largely unknown. Our car with its Quaker star was often the only vehicle which could get through the lines around beleaguered cities. Since I was equally under the ARA in Poland and the AFSC in Germany, I could compare the two. The AFSC doctrine of working *with* rather than *for* those who were being helped made a considerable difference between the policies of the two relief organizations.

At Earlham College we, for Anna Brinton had now joined me, found ourselves somewhat in the position of chaplains to a dozen or so students from the Conservative Yearly Meetings. A small meeting was gathered in our home. This grew with the years and finally met at the College where it still is. Conservative traveling ministers visited this meeting from time to time. We were interested to observe the strong and favorable impression made by these Friends on students not accustomed to them and their man-

nerisms. Those who had always known them were often embarrassed by their quaint, peculiar ways. I think that the young people of the Conservative meetings are now more aware of the value of what they have or rather had. I wondered sometimes to what extent Earlham was a real Quaker college, but when I moved to Mills College in California, I realized, by comparison, the strong effect of the religiously minded Earlham faculty. A school or college receives its character from the teachers even more, perhaps, than from what they teach.

IV

After six years at Earlham College, we returned to Mills College, California, where we had lived for a year after our marriage. I was offered the department of religion, which was closer to my interests than the mathematics which I had taught at Guilford or the physics of my Earlham years. It is not difficult to explain why such a radical change was possible for us. The President of Mills College was so anxious for Anna to return to Mills, where she had already taught for five years, that she was willing to offer me what I wanted. Though we were no longer in a Quaker college, Quaker experiences continued uninterrupted. I found that the small but growing meeting at Berkeley was just right in size for the germination of comparatively original ideas. For example, my Swarthmore Lecture *Creative Worship,* delivered in London in 1931, developed out of the silence of that meeting. Sometimes we attended the Palo Alto Meeting, and on one occasion Herbert Hoover, his wife, and one son were the only other attenders. The year spent in England, 1931-32, by our family of six was so full of engagements at Quarterly Meetings and other stated occasions that we could hardly comply with the requirements of the Woodbrooke fellowship which had been granted us.

There were at that time on the Pacific Coast nine regular independent meetings on a basis of silence. Six more were held irregularly. At the semi-annual meeting of the College Park Association of Friends held at San Jose on November 1, 1930, I proposed that a conference of representatives of these groups be held at Mills College with the possibility of forming a more inclusive association. This conference took place at our home in the following April. It resulted in the formation of the Pacific Coast Association

of Friends, which met annually until it became Pacific Yearly Meeting in 1947. This rapidly growing Yearly Meeting is now composed of thirty Monthly Meetings and eleven so-called "subordinate or preparative meetings." It was an interesting experience to preside as Clerk over the first session of the Pacific Coast Association, as no one knew who were the weighty Friends and who ought to serve on committees, but in a few days unity arose out of chaos.

The emergence of the new independent meetings in various parts of this continent is the most important event in modern Quaker history in America. In the opening stages I attempted to edit and publish the *Friends Bulletin* as an organ of all the independent meetings in all parts of the United States. An issue in 1930 lists thirty meetings, but this range proved too wide, and the *Bulletin* is now an organ only of the Pacific Yearly Meeting. If the movement which is producing so many new meetings throughout our country is preserved in its present form and does not become diluted with alliances to methods alien to Quaker practice, it will do much to save modern Quakerism. These new meetings, made up largely of convinced Friends, have usually taken the trouble to look into Quaker history and see what it means. In some cases meetings have been afflicted with a few birthright members who thought they knew and did not.

The Pacific Coast Association repeatedly rejected individual membership and even the faintest shadow of central authority, but gradually the more outwardly directed organizational Friends prevailed over the more inwardly directed anarchistic attenders. In 1946 from Pendle Hill I visited meetings on the Pacific Coast from Victoria and Vancouver south to Pasadena in preparation for the formation of the Yearly Meeting. We met that year in Pasadena and went through the novel and exciting process of creating a Yearly Meeting structure which began to function in 1947. I was able to assure doubting Friends that this could be legally done and that there was precedent for it. The Association had already been recognized by an exchange of epistles and certificates of membership. In these circumstances I found myself constantly appealed to as an authority on Quaker "canon law," not because I am an expert in this subject but because in the kingdom

of the blind the one-eyed man is king. Here, as in early Quakerism, there was some tension between those who wanted organization and the extreme individualists who did not want any arrangement that might appear to tell the Spirit what ought to be done. Some Pacific Coast Friends were, with good reason, fearful of the multiplication of committees and the creation of a bureaucracy if a Yearly Meeting were formed. Some meetings were ready to join with the reservation that "the Yearly Meeting be a consultative and service body, but not an authoritative, legislative, or taxing body." In these negotiations at Pasadena there were many delicate problems to be solved in synthesizing opposing viewpoints, but finally, in the words of George Fox, "Truth triumphed over all." A definite plan of organization for the Yearly Meeting was arrived at. Thirteen Monthly Meetings accepted membership by the time of the next annual gathering in 1947. The old Association was continued until recently to meet concurrently with the Yearly Meeting under the same officers, to satisfy the desire of those not yet prepared to join the Yearly Meeting and especially for persons who felt too loyal to ancestral ties to make new ones. At the Pacific Yearly Meeting which I attended in 1959, 553 persons, of whom 72 were under six years of age, were registered from eight states, Canada, and Mexico, each traveling an average distance of over 500 miles, an extraordinary record when compared with that of other Yearly Meetings.

Since this is an historical association, I have dealt most fully with events which are the most remote in time. I shall omit from these rambling reminiscences the years since 1936, which I have spent at Pendle Hill, but perhaps I should mention my interest in the transformation of Japan Yearly Meeting from a mission type of organization into a Yearly Meeting like ours in Philadelphia. The contrast between Japan Yearly Meeting, which I visited in 1936, and that in which I worked in 1952-54 is considerable. This contrast fits in with the others I have mentioned. But the three controversies I have dwelt upon, in spite of the modern Quaker playing-down of controversies, will need further investigation by future Quaker historians if they are to be truly understood — I mean the Wilburite-Gurneyite difference in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street), the fundamentalist-

modernist difference in the Five Years Meeting, including the rise of the pastoral system, and the difference between the more individualistic and the less individualistic types in the rise of the nearly two hundred new meetings during the past forty years. From the psychological point of view these are varieties of the perpetual difference between a more inwardly directed and a more outwardly directed religion. Tensions have their value; they sometimes result in a higher synthesis superior to either of the original component opinions. This is especially true in science. Compromises are different. In compromise neither side is wholly satisfied, and the Truth is whittled down to a common factor often of small importance. I do not believe that superficial unity should be sought at the sacrifice of principle.

The Quakers of the seventeenth century discovered certain great truths. Their application and the types of theory and theology by which they are supported may vary with the changing spirit of the times, but truth is absolute, not relative to a cultural pattern or historical environment. Balance between the insight of the individual and the insight of the group, a group which includes not only Friends for seventy-five years but also Friends for three hundred years, is difficult to achieve. The need and the effort to achieve it gives rise to most of our Quaker problems. It means, in terms of the three problems I have mentioned, that the individual should balance his inward revelation with the revelation which comes from the Christian religion as it existed in Bible times and later, that a universal mystical religion should be balanced with the historical Christian revelation, that the freedom of the individual should be balanced with the freedom of the meeting to have the kind of meeting which it wants to have. Personal overemphasis on one side or the other will no doubt continue to be present, but, though the individual seldom holds these elements in complete equilibrium, the group as a whole may be balanced. This paper, in dealing mainly with controversies, may seem lacking in friendly Quaker friendliness, but diversity is still with us, and if we ignore it, we cannot solve our problems.

BARNABAS C. HOBBS
MIDWESTERN QUAKER MINISTER AND EDUCATOR

By ELIZABETH H. EMERSON*

William and Priscilla Hobbs with their older children removed from Randolph County, North Carolina, to southern Indiana in 1812, three years before the birth of their youngest son, Barnabas. Together with families of Lindleys, Hollowells, Coffins, and other Friends from North Carolina, they comprised the beginnings of the strong settlement of Blue River, located near Salem in what was then Harrison County, later to become Washington County, Indiana.

William Hobbs's parents were Elisha and Fanny (or Fanna) McLane Hobbs, members of the Episcopal Church until a few years before his birth, when they became Friends and members at Back Creek in Randolph County, North Carolina, where the boy William, with his father, walked eight miles to meeting. Priscilla Coffin's ancestry has been traced to Sir Richard Coffin, companion to William the Conqueror when he entered Britain in 1066. Many generations later, her father, William Coffin, whose forebears had lived in Salisbury, Connecticut, and Nantucket, Massachusetts, moved to Guilford County, North Carolina. He was one of those Friends who did service of relief after the battle of Guilford Court House on March 15, 1781. It was in Guilford County that the marriage of William Hobbs and Priscilla Coffin took place.

William Hobbs was a saddlemaker by trade in a time when saddles were much in demand, but nothing ever hindered him

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from making religious visits or attending Yearly Meeting sessions. Barnabas early learned the meaning of the word "concern," for his father had many which took him away from home, sometimes for weeks. He was an elder and "timer" of his meeting at Blue River. Although he did not become a minister until middle age, his service to Friends was lifelong. He had an active part in Blue River movements in behalf of the Indians of the region and in stopping the custom of furnishing liquor for harvest hands. He was a member of the Salem Peace Society, which came into being in 1818 at Blue River Meetinghouse. He was a friend of education and a mover in the action which resulted in the establishing of the Friends Boarding School at Richmond, Indiana, which developed into Earlham College.

Priscilla Coffin Hobbs was a woman of loving disposition and many virtues. She was very heavy, and, as a boy, Barnabas had the duty of helping her in and out of the oxcart which carried the family to meeting. She died in 1836, when Barnabas was coming of age, shortly before he went to college. When the family left North Carolina in 1812, she left behind the graves of three stillborn babies. There are indications that her youngest son was her Benjamin, much beloved. After her death her husband wrote of her, "This loss was a very great trial for my nature to bear. We had lived together thirty-eight years lacking about four months, and she had made me a very real helpmate."[1]

The home, then, in which Barnabas Hobbs grew to manhood was one where religious interests were paramount, with education a close second. At an early age Barnabas "evinced a strong liking for books, and his future as a student and teacher seemed assured by the time he was sixteen years of age."[2] He taught his first school at eighteen; "there were forty pupils in attendance, some much older than the teacher."[3]

Among the many events which helped to send this child in the direction he took, two were of major importance. The first was the

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[1] *The Autobiography of William Hobbs,* ed. Barnabas C. Hobbs (Bloomingdale, Indiana, n.d.), p. 28.

[2] Mary F. Cammack, "The Influence of Barnabas C. Hobbs on Education in Indiana," M.A. thesis (Butler College, 1934), p. 4.

[3] Ibid., p. 9.

Great Separation. The storm which had been brewing farther east became in 1827 a tornado, formed out of the crosscurrents of religious and social thought. Blue River was hard hit. Before the tempest there had been simply Blue River Meeting of Friends. Afterward, there were both Orthodox and Hicksite branches at Blue River. William Hobbs and his family were Orthodox; some of their relatives were Hicksites. Both groups, when they were one, had helped to build the meetinghouse with their own hands, hewing logs for puncheon floors and backless benches. To whom did it now belong? Both groups claimed it, and for a while both used it at different hours, but inevitably there came a time when both wanted it at the same time. Shut out, the Orthodox group retired to the Hobbs home for their first meeting outside the house they had helped to build.

The story is told that the trouble continued until there came a day in First Month, 1829, when the Orthodox, trying to gain admittance for their Quarterly Meeting, stood outside in a cold rain. Inside, the Hicksites sat warm and dry by the central glowing coals, while William Hobbs "timed" the strange meeting.[4] The child Barnabas would certainly have been standing by his father. Such events would never have left his mind, and he must have tried to find his way through disputed doctrines to some sure foundation of belief. In later years the son must have felt great satisfaction in the record his father left: "There is one circumstance that in much humility I feel willing to relate. One of their [the Hicksites'] deputation to inform us that they intended to take full possession of the house, told me, as one of the trustees of the property, that he thought he ought to tell me that he had not seen me out of good temper through all the difficulty."[5] After a period when meetings were held in the schoolhouse, the Orthodox built a new meetinghouse near the center of their settlement.

An epidemic of Asiatic cholera swept across the country in 1832, to be followed by a second in the summer of 1833. This one struck Salem with great force and spread to nearby Blue River. Among the many who died was Samuel, older brother of Barnabas.

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[4] *Autobiography of William Hobbs,* pp. 16-21.
[5] Ibid., p. 20.

Other members of the Hobbs family became ill with the disease, and the tragic news reached William Hobbs while returning from a Friends Conference in Baltimore. As a result of this distressing experience, William Hobbs put aside the very real doubts which had beset him for some time and became a minister.[6] And out of the severe epidemic there came for the young Barnabas an educational opportunity without which he could hardly have become the man he was in mature life.

Judge Benjamin Parke, one of Indiana's outstanding political figures, formerly a resident of Vincennes, had settled in Salem. He was a man of solid integrity, and, although he was of no denomination and differed from the Friends in some of his honest convictions, particularly about slavery and war, he often rode out to Blue River to attend meetings and continued to do so as long as he lived. He lost a son and a grandchild in the cholera epidemic. Possibly their common grief was a bond between the two fathers. At any rate, he invited young Barnabas to live in his home while attending the Seminary in Salem, and to act as his secretary and office assistant.[7]

"The Seminary" was one of many such county schools common in the time and region. John I. Morrison, its head, was a young man, not long out of Miami University in Ohio. When he organized the school, he had recently married a young Blue River girl of Morris-Trueblood stock, and this fact may have raised him in Quaker estimation. The fame of Salem Seminary, called "the Athens of the West," was extending over Indiana and beyond it.

The two men, Judge Parke and John I. Morrison, seem to have united forces to give young Barnabas the best opportunities, educationally, that could be offered. In the remarkable library of the Judge there was access to the biographies of great men, books of philosophy, religion, science, poetry, law, and medicine. In the Seminary, John I. Morrison began every day with some idea to prod and stimulate the students toward wide reading and inde-

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[6] Ibid., pp. 25-27.
[7] Ibid., p. 19.

pendent thinking.[8] Barnabas' studies included mathematics, science, astronomy, and surveying. He had, too, the stimulus of association with young men whose ability, with the training they were receiving, fitted them to become outstanding professional and political figures.

It was no doubt through the influence of John I. Morrison that Barnabas Hobbs went in 1837 to Cincinnati College to continue his studies. Morrison's teacher at Miami had been William McGuffey, compiler of the famous *Readers.* Now McGuffey was to become President of Cincinnati College. We can well surmise that William Hobbs had some hesitation about sending his son to a city where there were few if any Friends, but William McGuffey's name as teacher, minister, lecturer, was already going far and had probably reached the Hobbs home. He could repeat entire books of the Bible from memory; he spoke with no notes before him. At the college, Barnabas had teachers of remarkable ability —McGuffey in English, Ormsby Mitchell in astronomy, E. D. Mansfield in law and philosophy, and Dr. Daniel Drake in medicine. Every one of these men was outstanding in his field, and they, with others, made of Cincinnati a center of culture. A contributing factor was Lane Theological Seminary, with Lyman Beecher at its head and Calvin Stowe on its faculty. Harriet Beecher Stowe was writing stories for local papers, preparatory to her *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* to come a little later. Salmon P. Chase was at the time distinguishing himself as an antislavery lawyer; much later he would become a member of Lincoln's cabinet. The place was called a "cauldron of boiling opinions," chief subject of which was slavery.[9]

In this stimulating environment Barnabas lived for three years, taking an elective course including most of the subjects offered, but receiving no degree. Although he had interspersed his student days at Salem Seminary with some teaching, it seems likely that

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[8] See Barnabas Hobbs's memorial address, quoted in Annie Morrison Coffin, "John Irwin Morrison," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXII (1926), 184, 188.

[9] See Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Cincinnati: Story of the Queen City* (New York, 1939), chap. X.

it was in college with the example of the great McGuffey before him that he decided on his life work.

In 1839 Barnabas Hobbs crossed Ohio and became headmaster of the three-year-old boarding school at the historic town of Mt. Pleasant. This was the forerunner of the present Olney at Barnesville, Ohio. Here he met Rebecca Tatum, Friend out of New Jersey, who in 1843 became his wife.[10] Their first home was in Richmond, Indiana, and the first place of teaching after marriage was the Whitewater Day School. The boy had become a man, a husband, an experienced teacher, soon to be a father.

In 1847 the long-worked-for Friends Boarding School at Richmond, Indiana, came into being. After one term of service by temporary occupants of the positions, Barnabas and Rebecca Tatum Hobbs became its Superintendent and Matron, continuing until mid-July of 1849. He brought with him a set of his own maps, a cabinet of minerals, and apparatus for teaching purposes and began at once to put into practice the strict rules by which his schools were always governed. A gift from English Friends interested in the new school was put to the best possible use. Promises for success were good, but in the spring of 1849 a new outbreak of cholera across the Ohio line came too near for safety, and the school was closed early.

It was in 1851 that Barnabas Hobbs took his wife and three small children to Parke County on the western edge of Indiana and began the long period of superintending what was to be known far and wide as "The Big School."[11] At the time it was called Western Manual Labor Institute, and the nearby meeting was Elevatis. Many changes came to the family, the school, and the country during his fifteen years there. In 1862 the school became Bloomingdale Academy, and the place Bloomingdale. From the first, the standards were so high that the curriculum reads like that of a college rather than a secondary school.[12] In 1859, two hundred pupils were enrolled. At one time fourteen states were represented.

Here again rules were very strict. There was much emphasis

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[10] Cammack, p. 12.
[11] Ibid., pp. 13-25.
[12] Copies of the catalogues are preserved at the Rockville Public Library.

on physical exercise to keep bodies fit. Religious instruction was of great importance. On Fourth Day the boys and girls walked in separate companies down the path through the big gate, across the Hobbs woodlot, past the Hobbs home in the beeches, down the slope, over the stile, across Sugar Creek on the old footbridge to the log meetinghouse. The boys sat on one side and the girls on the other. There was no music and there was great reverence. Sometimes Barnabas exhorted. Often no word was spoken.

The gifts which Barnabas Hobbs possessed began to be recognized. In 1853 he was recorded a minister. In 1858 the A.M. degree was conferred on him by Wabash College. And when, on the 20th of September, 1858, the doors of the newly-built home for Western Yearly Meeting opened at Plainfield, Indiana, to admit some 1500 Friends, Barnabas C. Hobbs was named Clerk for the day and afterward permanent Clerk.[13] In making way for the birth of this child of Indiana Yearly Meeting and grandchild of Ohio, he had had an important part, for as Clerk of the Associated Committee he signed two of the reports, one of which recorded the decision to build the house and to apportion $6000 among the five Quarterly Meetings requesting it. Mary S. Wood, observing him in his responsible position as Clerk, described him as "a noble man in mind and manner."[14]

The state legislature became accustomed to seeing the dignified figure of the man from Bloomingdale and to hearing his voice in pleas for the raising of Indiana's educational standards. He spoke for free schools, for a school journal, and for a state normal school. In time he saw one after another of these improvements come to pass.

The Civil War brought empty seats in the Big School. When the draft came, he went with the Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting to confer with Governor Oliver P. Morton about the exemption of young men Friends from military service. His advice to his students seems to have been to follow conscience as a guide to action, but he had done much to enlighten their consciences.[15]

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[13] *Semi-Centennial Anniversary of Western Yearly Meeting* (Plainfield, Indiana, 1908), p. 104.

[14] Ibid., p. 241.

[15] William C. Dennis, letter to the author, April 28, 1948.

After the War's close there came an important request to Barnabas and Rebecca Hobbs: would they return to Richmond to serve as Superintendent and Matron of Earlham College? To leave the good home, meeting, and school where they had spent fifteen fruitful years must have been a difficult decision, but they accepted this call to larger service. For the school year of 1866-1867 Barnabas was Superintendent. In May of 1867 the administration was reorganized and he became the first President of Earlham College. He held the position until the spring of 1868.

In physical appearance this first Earlham President was said to have borne a resemblance to the English statesman William E. Gladstone. His fine bearing—his shoulders remained erect to his last years—set him apart. His hair, always very light, was now white. His body had become almost portly. Before this time he had made some concessions to modern dress. The painting which hangs at Earlham shows a collar on his coat, perhaps of velvet, but no tie. Evidently a tie would have seemed an unnecessary adornment.

During the brief time of his Presidency Barnabas Hobbs made every effort to keep academic standards high, matching those of other Indiana colleges, yet he never lost sight of his purpose to make the school stand out as a religious one. As President he lectured, taught, and preached.

At this time there was not complete unity among Friends most concerned with the College. It appears that the President tried to steer a middle course between those who thought he moved too fast and those who accused him of holding back. The revival movement which had begun to have great influence among midwestern Friends gained new strength after the Civil War. One difference of opinion was over the use of music and musical instruments in meetings. Barnabas Hobbs had always opposed their introduction. A compromise was reached, and students with progressive tendencies were allowed to practice hymns, men and women in separate rooms.[16] There were other disagreements, less easily settled.

There are signs of growth in the College during the two-year

[16] Earlham College Records.

period. Some hundreds of books were assembled in a room where boys could read in the morning and girls in the afternoon. Joseph Moore was bringing into existence the beginnings of a museum. The President himself taught English literature, and the fact that he was later offered the chair of English at Indiana University indicates that he was a most proficient teacher.

The records show no other reasons for the Hobbs's leaving their important positions than their joint letter of resignation in 1868: "Finding that the duties of Matron require too much labor and care to long safely endure without rest, we respectfully ask you to release us at the close of the present year from further service at the college. We have reason to thank you for the many evidences of your confidence and kindness."[17]

Perhaps the President of a college thought he saw the possibility of entering a field where he could better serve the cause of education. At any rate, he ran for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction and won the election. Soon after, the incumbent resigned to take a teaching position, and Governor Morton asked Barnabas Hobbs to fill the vacancy, taking office at once. He did so, completing the unfinished term and the one for which he was elected. He assumed his new duties in the midst of bitter contention in the legislature in regard to the Fifteenth Amendment and the education of Negroes in the state. Before he left office, he saw Indiana's schools opened to Negro children. In the course of his duties he visited every school twice, most of them on horseback. His two reports are indications of the zeal with which he carried on his work. In one he wrote:

> Our state has a great future before it. As we test our mineral resources . . . by skillful, scientific tests, inducements will be given to capital to furnish employment, where wealth is now sleeping, to a teeming population. Supply and demand can do best when they can be near neighbors. . . . But for lasting success the interest of the capitalist and the laborer must be blended. The laborer is contented only when he sees a pleasing future for his children. The free schools of the state afford this guarantee. They are alike the friend of both capital and labor.[18]

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[17] Ibid.

[18] *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1869), p. 16.

They show, too, the high moral standards he expected to be inculcated in students: "The citizen and the teacher understand alike that what we want is not creeds and formularies in moral instruction of our schools but those vital and essential elements of virtue, truth and duty which will inspire the student to higher resolves and influence him to worthy motives."[19]

His reports received favorable comment, but he failed to be re-elected to succeed himself, and his work in this line came to an end too soon. His standing among educators in Indiana is indicated by the fact that Indiana University conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

In 1871 there came a call to return to Bloomingdale Academy. Barnabas Hobbs responded and gave five additional years to his beloved school. He and his wife were warmly welcomed. Parke County was having railroad trouble at the time. As a result of his help in routing the Indianapolis, Decatur and Western road through Bloomingdale he was invited to sit upon a high platform and was presented with a gold-headed cane which he afterward carried on occasions.[20]

Being sure that a man could do his best teaching before he was sixty, he retired at that age and took a place on the Board of Bloomingdale Academy. It was from his Bloomingdale home that he journeyed forth on religious and educational missions during the remainder of his life.

In 1877 Barnabas C. Hobbs presented to his Monthly Meeting a concern to visit abroad. The original minute states that he wished to "visit in Gospel love London and Dublin Yearly Meetings and others in Great Britain and should it meet with the approval of Friends of London Yearly Meeting, some parts of the continent of Europe, more especially heads of governments and persons in authority in behalf of liberty of conscience and the cause of peace." This concern came in due order to Bloomingdale Quarterly Meet-

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[19] Ibid., p. 15.

[20] Robert L. Kelly, letter to the author, March 5, 1948.

ing and to the Meeting on Ministry and Oversight of Western Yearly Meeting. He was given the blessing of all.[21]

Before this time, differences of conviction, arising first in New England in the 1830's and spreading slowly across the country, had divided Orthodox Friends in several Yearly Meetings into two camps. So-called Progressives followed the influence of Joseph John Gurney of England, who had visited the United States in 1837; the Conservatives carried on the opposition to the "creaturely activity" accompanying the English visitor's emphases on Bible study and acceptance of certain beliefs and practices held by other denominations. John Wilbur, the Conservative leader, had died in 1856, and twenty years had passed before the controversy reached its height in Western Yearly Meeting, not long before Barnabas Hobbs made his European visit. It must have been with a heavy heart that its Clerk left the troubled situation in other hands. During his absence, a small group of English Friends visited in Western Yearly Meeting as messengers of peace, but they were not too successful, and after his return it was necessary for Barnabas to take part in the litigation over property which followed in the wake of the dissensions.

If Barnabas Hobbs had wished only to visit Friends abroad, the minutes would have been sufficient, but since he had the purpose of appealing to the heads of government in Russia and Germany on behalf of the peace-loving Mennonites, who were being forced to do military service or leave the country, he had to be equipped with papers from the United States government. Accordingly, he obtained a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, addressed "to whom it may concern," signed by President Hayes, the two Indiana Senators, and ten Representatives. Among the latter was the name of Joseph J. G. Cannon of Illinois who, when a boy, had attended Bloomingdale Academy under Barnabas Hobbs.

He visited many meetings in London Yearly Meeting, was a guest in the home of John Bright,[22] as Allen Jay had been not

[21] See *Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Men and Women Friends, Held at Plainfield, Indiana, 9 mo. 14-20, 1877* (New Vienna, Ohio, 1870), p. 60.

[22] Thomas C. Trueblood, letter to the author, October 22, 1948.

long before, and gave lectures in many places. But the weeks and months wore on, and it was July of 1878, seven months after he had left the States, before "the way began to open" for him to go to Russia. London Yearly Meeting provided him with a companion, Charles Tylor, who spoke French, and he carried a beautifully copied minute, signed by Bevan Braithwaite. In the capital city of Russia his array of official papers had enough influence to admit the two men into the presence of a high official, and they put into his hands a letter which he promised to deliver to the Czar in the hope that this would bring about a meeting with him.

But the Czar was occupied with the Russo-Turkish War, and there was little chance of an interview. Barnabas must have felt the keenest disappointment. He had made the long journey with a heaven-born concern; how *could* the Czar be too busy to see him? A strange coincidence occurred in the hotel where he was staying, for he found there ex-President Grant and his wife, who were touring Europe. The three talked freely. The ex-President had waited three whole days for an audience, and the man of peace took courage from the experience of the man of war and waited much longer. He and his companion had come equipped with copies of London Yearly Meeting's recent *Appeal on War* (1878) and its earlier *Plea in Behalf of Liberty of Conscience* (1856), together with a memorial asking for exemption from military service for Mennonites and a review of the United States government's experience with conscientious objectors. These they gave to the heads of three departments of the government, and obtained promises that the messages would reach the Czar. The visitors could do no more.

This failure did not deter Barnabas Hobbs from a like effort in Germany, or perhaps a more determined one. He had sixty-five copies of the *Appeal on War* and distributed them to Prince Bismarck, Baron von Bülow, University professors, clergymen, and the Minister of Public Instruction. Von Bülow gave him audience and promised to try to get an audience with the Emperor. But the Emperor suffered a fall and an injury, and that hope was dashed. Again a letter had to suffice, and the reply came back that there was a law which prevented any more lenient treatment of the Mennonites and other pacifists. In some way an audience

was obtained with the Crown Prince and Princess, who received Barnabas "in a very friendly and easy way." But word came that their child, who was ill, had taken a turn for the worse, and the interview was cut short. The child later died, and Barnabas wrote a letter of sympathy to the royal couple.

After some travel, in which there was study of the German educational system and a visit to Scotland, Barnabas Hobbs sailed for home, having been away a year and a half. He carried with him one most precious result of his efforts—a letter from one near the Czar of Russia, saying that the documents "submitted by the concerned Friend from America" had been graciously received and read with interest, and their sentiments "appreciated at their full value." In view of the integrity of Barnabas Hobbs, it is impossible to think that he caused to be created the impression which has prevailed that he actually visited the "crowned heads of Europe." A minute from London Yearly Meeting reported the satisfaction it had enjoyed in his presence and service.[23]

The scope of his work did not diminish after his return from Europe. In 1880 Earlham College came under the joint control of Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings, and Barnabas and Rebecca Hobbs were made members of its Board. He continued to work, as he had done for many years, among the Cherokee Indians, helping in the establishment of schools and in adjusting their claims against the government.[24] He took part in the supervision of the Reform School for Boys at Plainfield, of which (as the "House of Refuge") he had been one of the founders in 1868. He was one of that small group which held a meeting in the home of Timothy Nicholson during Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1886, forerunner of the Richmond Conference of 1887, to which he was a delegate; that Conference led directly to the establishment of the Five Years Meeting, too late, however, for his participation.[25]

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[23] The fullest account of Hobbs's mission to St. Petersburg and Berlin is found in his report to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, dated Third Month 4, 1879, printed in *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of Friends, Held in London . . . 1879,* pp. 73-89.

[24] Cammack, pp. 56, 57.

[25] See Elizabeth H. Emerson, *Walter C. Woodward: Friend on the Frontier* (1952), pp. 62, 83.

He was always something of a writer. In the earlier Bloomingdale years he prepared a series of reading books for schools in response to a desire of Friends for texts "free from popular sentiments which conflict with views concerning civil government, Christian philosophy and Christian courtesy"; he drew much of the material from the McGuffey readers but included selections from the Friends papers and from the Bible.[26] He wrote out his sermons and his lectures on temperance, peace, and the Bible, its purpose and history. In later years he collected the speeches he had made at Earlham and published them in his only wholly original book, *The Earlham Lectures* (1885), which explain his religious beliefs and are doctrinal in character.

No account of the life of Barnabas C. Hobbs would be complete without some fitting words about his life companion. During the Civil War the two visited Earlham College and left written in the guest book on the parlor table: "Barnabas Hobbs and Lady." Rebecca Tatum was that when she became Rebecca Hobbs and she was always that. The tributes from those who knew her are many. The highest praise is contained in a letter from her son-in-law, Thomas Clarkson Trueblood: "She was well educated and kept so by much reading and study. She was . . . one of the most engaging conversationalists I have ever known. She was the most distinguished woman Friend in the state of Indiana and for many years was the clerk of the Women's division of Western Yearly Meeting and was most efficient in directing their business. . . ."[27] Rebecca Hobbs presided with grace over the Bloomingdale home among the beeches, welcoming statesmen, educators, ministers, and students, often taking the more difficult of the latter to stay within it.

For Barnabas Hobbs there was no cessation of activity in the final years. He was in demand as minister at individual and Quarterly Meeting sessions; he made journeys to Washington to meet on committees; he preached funeral sermons far and near. He visited the Boys' School of Plainfield; he attended board meetings of the Normal School at Terre Haute, of which he was a

[26] Cammack, pp. 52, 53.

[27] Letter to the author, October 22, 1948.

member from its founding until his death.[28]

Following his death on June 22, 1892, Indiana newspapers and Friends publications gave ample evidence of the high regard in which Barnabas Hobbs was held, not only in his own state and among Friends but far beyond these confines. Unfortunately, during his later years there had been a growth of fanaticism which had made inroads among some Quaker groups, and severe criticism from such sources was directed against him.[29] An editorial in *The Rockville Republican* credited opposition from a few within his own meeting with weakening his strong body and making him susceptible to the disease which ended his life.[30]

A few of the many remembered stories about this man contribute to our knowledge of him. A peculiar whistle accompanied his speaking. Alfred T. Coate told of his saying, when he returned from some undertaking for the Cherokee Indians: "The experiment was not a success" — with a whistle on every sibilant. Warder Clyde Allee told of the loss of the two middle fingers of his right hand. The big Negro who cared for the farm was setting fence posts. Barnabas put out his hand to test the solidity of one; the heavy maul in the hands of Big Bill came down with crushing force; he swore a terrible oath, and Barnabas prayed for him then and there. Sibyl J. Haworth remembered a visit to Vermilion Quarterly Meeting in Illinois. It had been arranged that after First Day meeting he was to preach at night at the Friends Chapel, several miles away. The weather was very uncooperative. A wagon was the only vehicle which could negotiate those Illinois roads. The man who came for him thought that the great preacher might not want to ride in a wagon. "I would ride in an oxcart to keep an appointment," he said.

He was scholar, minister, writer, world traveler, lecturer, educator, teacher. Perhaps the highest tribute ever paid to him came from the pen of a daughter, Carolyn Hobbs Trueblood: "He was a man who always lived and taught ahead of his time."[31]

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[28] Cammack, p. 34.

[29] Robert L. Kelly, letter to the author, March 15, 1948.

[30] *Rockville Republican,* June 29, 1892.

[31] Quoted in Minnie B. Clark, "Barnabas Coffin Hobbs," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XIX (1923), 288.

Notes and Documents

A QUAKER BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1663

By HENRY J. CADBURY

Though the full records of the Privy Council are not available in print,[1] it appears that, in spite of its name, non-members were sometimes present. An example was the hearing of a Quaker, John Furly (Furley), in 1663, related below.[2]

The minutes show that on November 20, 1663, on the basis of a letter of information from William Moore, the Mayor of Colchester, to Sir John Shaw, Knight, Recorder of that town, accusing Furly of being a favorer and encourager of the Quakers, a messenger of His Majesty's chamber was ordered to bring him before the Board. At the same time, the Mayor was "required to send up some fit persons who can more perfectly inform and give evidence against the said Furly for his encouraging the meetings of the said Quakers."

At the Court at Whitehall, 27 November 1663
Present
The King's Most Excellent Majesty
His Royal Highness the Duke of York

His Highness Prince Rupert	Earl of Bath
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury	Earl of Lauderdale
Lord Chancellor	Lord Wentworth

[1] The printed volumes go only down to the early seventeenth century, except for a Colonial Series. The manuscript minutes are at the Public Record Office, and my references are to them. In my quotations from these and other sources I have modernized spelling and punctuation.

[2] Furly himself had been at the table once before. On the present occasion apparently some London merchant Friends (or friends of his) were there, as well as the witnesses against him, brought up from Colchester. Quakers were of course the subject of discussion on other occasions, including George Fox on September 21, 1664, and William Penn on December 16, 1668, March 31, 1669, and July 28, 1669, the latter all in connection with his publication of *The Sandy Foundation Shaken;* but they were not present in the Council in person.

Lord Privy Seal	Lord Ashley
Duke of Albemarle	Mr. Treasurer
Lord Chamberlain	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Marquis of Dorchester	Mr. Secretary Morrice
Earl of Berkshire	Mr. Secretary Bennet
Earl of St. Albans	Sir Edward Nicholas
	Sir Richard Fanshawe

Whereas John Furly of the Town of Colchester in the County of Essex, Merchant, by order of the 20th of this instant was sent for by a messenger to attend this Board, being a favorer and eminent encourager of the Sect of Quakers in those parts. And being brought up and this day appearing and examined touching his misdemeanors, it was thought fit and accordingly ordered (his Majesty present in Council) That the said John Furly be and stands committed to the prison of the Gatehouse of Westminster and that Nicholas Copley (one of the messengers of his Majesty's Chamber in ordinary) in whose custody he is, so deliver him unto the keeper of the said prison there to remain prisoner until he shall receive warrant from this board for his discharge.

The minutes of the Privy Council continue with a copy of the warrant committing Furly to the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison, dated the last day of November and signed by the Duke of Albemarle, the Marquis of Dorchester, and the Earl of St. Albans; but the minutes have no warrant for his later discharge or other reference to him. For other and later information we must turn to the State Papers, which include a different copy of two warrants of committal to the Gatehouse endorsed in another hand: "It is humbly desired that this prisoner John Furly may be removed to Newgate Prison, where he may have better accommodation and be nearer his business, he having two ships laden with wines and other goods lately arrived."[3]

The date of the endorsement is not given, but there is a petition as early as December 15, 1663 from John Furly's non-Quaker brother Stephen, in which he begs Mr. Williamson, Secretary to Henry Bennet, Secretary of State, for his brother's release, and gives as one among other reasons the suffering, if not perishing, condition of John Furly's business, and adds: "You may judge how great a trade he drives by this: he paid the last year about

[3] *Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654 to 1672,* ed. Norman Penney (London, 1913), pp. 226f.

£2000 custom, which is more than all the merchants in this town paid beside."[4]

There is with this a warrant signed by Secretary Bennet, Whitehall, April 12, 1664, transferring him from the Gatehouse to Newgate. According to the account by his son John, he hoped by this transfer "to come to trial but could not. He was prisoner about 3 years, till the sickness came into Newgate he was let out, and all the Goalers dying, was never more called for."[5]

For the actual contents of the hearing at Whitehall we have two Quaker accounts. One was written by John Furly himself, though it occasionally uses the pronoun "he" for "I." It is preserved in a well-written manuscript at Friends House Library, London.[6] It is written almost in dialogue form, quotes freely the words of the King, of the Duke of York, and of the Chancellor (Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon), and shows a good deal of the pleasantry enjoyed on both sides. It is transcribed in full hereafter. The other by internal evidence was written by his son and namesake sometime after 1674.[7] As it supplies a few names and details supplementary to the longer account, it is presented first.

A few months before this hearing, there had begun at Colchester a series of vigorous efforts to suppress the Friends meetings, led by the Mayor, William Moore. This is described in a pamphlet, *A True and Faithful Relation from the People of God (called Quakers) in Colchester.* It is not signed but is dated "11 mo. 1663," (i.e. January 1663/4). The piece by J. Coale included in it refers to Quaker innocence from plotting, and the questions asked John

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[4] Ibid., pp. 181f. Cf. William I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1941), pp. 4, 5, 6, where, however, the first (1590-1673) and second John Furly (1618-1686) are confused. There is an article with genealogical chart by H. de B. Gibbins in *The Essex Review,* VIII (1899), 86-95.

[5] *"The First Publishers of Truth,"* ed. Norman Penney (London, 1907), p. 101.

[6] Portfolio 2.24.

[7] Portfolio 7.32 (printed in *"The First Publishers of Truth,"* pp. 100f). The reference to "the then Duke of York" suggests that it was set down after 1685, when James Stuart, Duke of York, became King as James II. The writer himself died in 1686, but the document itself was not "brought in" to Yearly Meeting until 1709. Ibid., p. 103n.

Furly about news from the North and about news of a plot suggest the period of the Kaber Rigg plot in the summer of 1663. Besse's *Sufferings,* I, 199f. covers the same ground as the pamphlet, adding the names of some of the Quaker victims. John Furly is not named, though I think the meetings were held at his house. Giles Barnardiston was a victim of the violence on January 3, 1663/4. Stephen Crisp had been arrested and sent to prison on October 25, 1663. Compare his letter of October 1, 1664, which says he had been forty-eight weeks in the Moot Hall *(A Memorable Account of . . . Stephen Crisp in His Books and Writings* [London, 1694], p. 109; cf. C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp and His Correspondents, 1657-1692* [London, 1892], pp. xxv-xxvi). Biographical information about these and Morgan Watkins will be found in the notes by Norman Penney in the Cambridge Journal of George Fox; about Henry Jackson and his writings in his notes in *"The First Publishers of Truth."* As implied later, Jackson was in prison at the time, probably at Warwick. See his petition to the King in 1666 in *Extracts from State Papers,* pp. 248-255.

I.

And John Furly, the elder, was then by the instigation of the said William Moore, the mayor, and John Shaw, recorder, had before King Charles and his Council, where he had been once before upon occasion of outward affairs and so was known again to several of them. And they sent up witnesses against him, as one Parkinson, a baymaker,[8] and Auger and his man, both weavers, but his man was also the hired hangman. They could say little but that the said John Furly, my father, had read a letter which was an epistle among Friends, while they were kept in the street, being from Henry Jackson, which John Furly, having notice of by the pursuivant that came for him, carried up with him. And the Council or speaker charging him with such a letter, he produced [it]. The speaker was ordered to read it. John Furly desired he might read it, which they granted, and it being two epistles joined together, and long ones, when he had read one they bade him lay it down, asking if there was no worse behind.

The witnesses, being called, were abashed and could say little. They asked what trade they were of, to which they answered, but Auger's man not telling that he was hangman but called himself a weaver, as he also was. The then Duke of York asked if he weaved halster.[9] And some of

[8] A weaver of baize, a specialty of Colchester.

[9] Query: *halter?* or *halster (halsier, hawser)?* In either case, a kind of rope.

them asked if the mayor of Colchester had no better witnesses than these. However, because it would look too discouraging to the magistrates to set him at liberty he was committed to the Gatehouse, Westminster, his mittimus mentioning no other crime than being an encourager or countenancer of the Quakers in and about Colchester.

II.

The 27th day of the 9th month 1663

John Furly of Colchester being brought up by a messenger to appear before the King and Council, which he did the day aforesaid; being called to the Council Chamber, the King, seeing him, called him to him by his name, having seen him before upon another occasion at the same table. Then the Chancellor asked me what I was, and I said, a merchant. Then he asked me whither I traded. I told him to Holland, France, and sometimes into the East Country. Then he asked me when I received any letters out of the North. I told him I had received none in a long time unless they counted Lincolnshire some part of the North, and I had seen a letter lately which came from thence. Then they asked me if that was the letter that they had received information a fortnight since that was read in the meeting. I told them, yes, that it was it. Then he asked me where it was. So I produced it. They asked me what superscription it had. I told them it had no superscription to me, for it was directed to the flock of God in general.[10] They asked me how I came by it. I told them it was given me by a friend. They said by what friend. I told them I must not lie and told them by one Giles Barnardiston.

Then they bid their clerk read it. I told them if they pleased, I might read it. So they bade me read it. Applying myself to a candle, some demanded if the Light within me would not help me read it. So I read one whole side of Henry Jackson's letter, unto which they gave great attention, and they seeing the thing to be large, I turning to read another side, asked if the remainder was as good or no worse as that which I had read. So I told them, yea, and there was not a tongue lifted up against it. So they bid him leave the letter, which he did.

Then they asked wherefore we met contrary to the law. I told them we often met to wait upon the Lord, and sometimes to hear Truth declared by those that were sent from the Lord. Then they asked how we knew when a man was sent of God or so. Then I told them, by a measure of the spiritual discerning which he had given us. Then they asked what minister it was that spoke last. I told them, one Morgan Watkins. They asked me where he lived. I told them I could not tell. Then they demanded to what end we met when no man spake amongst us. I told them that then we waited and meditated on the Lord in the silence of our spirits, watching against the enemy of our souls, that he lead not our minds out

[10] As appears in the sequel, it was a letter from Henry Jackson, but not, I think, either of the printed pieces published from him.

into sundry imaginations and cogitations, etc. At which they smiled, and not knowing what to make of a silent meeting.

Then the King said, Do you not study to plot? Then I told them, nay, and further added that if any of them ever had any experience of God, or ever had any consolation in Christ Jesus, or any fellowship with his spirit, they must witness it was when they were silent from words, and waited upon the Lord. Unto which by their silence they seemed to assent, not one man speaking against the truth thereof.

Then the Chancellor asked whether we did not know that there was laws that did enjoin us that we should not meet. I told him that I could not deny but that there was laws, but still we met, having our warrant from the Lord, and trusting also to the King's clemency, expecting that he would make good his promises. What promises? said the Chancellor. I said, his promises at Breda. He said, he promised nothing to the Quakers. I said, he promised liberty to those that lived soberly and peaceably, of which number we are.[11]

Then they bid him withdraw, and called me in again, and the witnesses. One witness testified that he came into my house one First Day morning and he told me that he was appointed by the Mayor to keep out Friends, but told me that he would not disobey the Mayor's order, if I was ever a whit discontented. I told him he was not to regard whether I was pleased or not pleased, but he might do as the Mayor had commanded him, and further told him that if the Mayor should set a child at the door to keep out Friends, I did not know that we should resist. This being testified by one who came as a witness against me was of good service unto me. And yet the witness was not able to declare it, but as I was fain to declare, and he said yes to it, it was so. And when the council saw what a weak person he was in his understanding, and not able scarce to speak a word of sense, they laughed at him and asked if the Mayor of Colchester had no better witnesses than he was.

Then they called another, and he could say less than the former. Then the Chancellor demanded what trade he was. I answered for him that he was a hangman, at which the King and Council exceedingly laughed for a long time together. Then the Duke of York asked when he hanged any. Then I told him that there were but two hanged this three or four years, and he hanged them both. Then another replied of the council that the hangman was a useful man in a kingdom. And they asked him what work he did when he had no hanging work. He said a weaver . . . who was a constable.

Then another witness, being examined, said that being one day at my house with the Mayor, at which time Stephen Crisp was taken prisoner and

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[11] On April 4, 1660, just before his restoration, Charles II at Breda had promised "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom."

put into his custody, he, the said Stephen, should say that formerly they might have took up meetings but now we were grown too many for them.

Then they asked me if I had no correspondency living at Halifax, and when I received any letters from thence or wrote any thither. I told them I never wrote any thither or received any from thence in my lifetime. They asked if I did not know of a plot. I told them I did not know of any and further said that I did deny plotting or using any carnal weapons, but we were a peaceable people, and that the gospel [which] was preached among us was a gospel of peace, and we were called to peace of which we had given sufficient testimony to the nations, and that it would be happy for the King and Kingdom if all people were likeminded with us, and further added where any came to embrace the Truth, it brought them to be peaceable minded, although they were otherwise minded before.

Then one of the witnesses further testified that last First Day there was a thousand people at the meeting, and they demanded who spoke in the meeting, to which I replied it was Morgan Watkins. Then [they] asked whether he were at Colchester. I told them he passed out of Colchester the day following.

Then they demanded what were these other men that stood at the end of the table. I told them they were merchants with whom I had some traffic in the City. Then the Chancellor said that he would keep me near these merchants, intimating that he would commit me. I told him that if he did, it would be of great prejudice to me at this juncture of time, I having several goods arrived within this month, the custom of which comes to above £400.

Then I said that the hearts of Kings and their hearts also were in the hand of the Lord, and if he did suffer me to be committed by them, I should rest satisfied in the will of the Lord. And the Chancellor asked me whether I knew that Henry Jackson. I told them, yea, very well, and that he was a precious servant of the Lord's and then, addressing myself to the King, told him that there were many such dear children of God in many prisons and dungeons and stinking holes within his dominions.

And the Duke of York asked me how long I had been of this calling. I told him of this persuasion I had been five years and upwards. The Chancellor asked me what I was before. I told him I was inclining to Independency. The Chancellor asked me if I never was a Presbyterian or an Anabaptist. I told him, nay, but from the time that I came to understand anything of God, I followed those which I reckoned the best sort of ministers called Independents.

The Chancellor asked me if the Spirit of God [told] me when my ships would come home that were at sea. I told them the Spirit was exercised about more sublime things, and in such outward things we waited till the Lord was pleased to bring the tidings of their arrival to our hands.

A VIEW OF JOHN BRIGHT IN 1867

By OPAL THORNBURG*

In April 1867 three of the ten members of the Class of 1865 of Earlham College set out together on a carefully planned period of travel and study in Europe. In the words of one of the three, they wanted "to learn as many real life lessons as possible. . . . What do people travel for, if it is not that they may better know what the world is and how the people act &c, in short lay up such a knowledge of men and things as will make one better able to discharge the duties of after life."[1]

Henry C. Wright, son of Earlham's Superintendent,[2] Parvin Wright, was to stay for eight months before entering business in Richmond and Indianapolis. Calvin W. Pearson, who became his lifelong friend, was to begin study at the University of Berlin, transferring later to the University of Göttingen, from which he received his doctorate in 1869, thereafter serving for fifteen years as Professor of History and Languages at Earlham. Edward Taylor, principal of the Friends Academy at Spiceland, Indiana, longed especially to see Italy that summer, and was then to study at the University of Berlin for a year. Later, he was a school superintendent in various cities and a representative in the Iowa State Legislature.

A letter from Henry Wright to his parents and friends at home,[3] postmarked in London on May 7, 1867, tells of the journey from Liverpool through the Cotswolds, of a visit to Ackworth School and the Friends School at York, and the journey on to

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*Opal Thornburg, formerly Executive Assistant to the President, is now Archivist-Historian at Earlham College.

[1] Letter from Calvin W. Pearson to Parvin Wright, Eleventh Month 2, 1867, written from Berlin.

[2] From the opening in 1847 until the first President was named in 1868 Earlham's governing head was the Superintendent.

[3] The letters referred to here are a recent gift to the Earlham College Archives from Henry Wright's daughter, Susan Wright Johnson, of Trenton, New Jersey.

London. There Wright and Pearson (Taylor having gone his own way for a time) secured lodging in a private home "& are as much at home here as we used to be in Hades" — a comment rather startling unless one knows that various sections of Earlham Hall, where they had spent their college days, were known by such names as East Hades, Purgatory, Elysium, Paradise, Macedonia.

One of their objectives in London was to visit the House of Commons and to see John Bright, internationally famous Quaker, in action. It was a propitious time, for in 1867 John Bright was at the height of his influence. In the preceding quarter century he had led the fight which led to repeal of the Corn Laws; he had worked toward reform in the affairs of Ireland and India; he had promoted the extension of suffrage, free trade, and the establishment of a national system of education. More recently, he had opposed entrance into the Crimean War. When the slavery issue in America became acute, he urged the abolition of the practice, despite the losses he would suffer in his cotton-spinning business.

In the year of the visit by Henry Wright and Calvin Pearson, the principles of electoral reform for which John Bright had contended were being embodied in the Reform Bill, carried that year after much debate in Commons. When Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1868, he was to make Bright President of the Board of Trade, in which post he was influential in passing the act for the disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869) and the Irish Land Act (1870).

To attend sessions of the House of Commons required a permit from a member. Henry Wright's letter tells the story of their visit to John Bright's office and to Commons:

> We called upon John Bright—showed him our letter from Sumner[4] and C. Coffin.[5] We were after a permit to visit session of House of Commons. He had us taken up to his room instead of sending us the permit. We talked with him for some time. He talked of English prospects, the reform &c—told us of the best times for visiting the house —asked a good many things about America—asked about our plans—

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[4] Charles Sumner, America's great opponent of war and slavery, spokesman of the antislavery forces in the Senate.

[5] Charles Coffin, Presiding Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

told us considerable of his travels, on the Continent[6]—finally told us if there was at any time any thing he could do for us he would like us to call upon him & he would like to aid us—said if we were in England while he was at his home any time he would like us to come to Rochdale & spend a day or two with him—told us when we returned on our way home to stop & visit him. We had a very pleasant visit, instead of what we expected, a mere permit to be handed us. He said he would send us one at the best time he could, so yesterday we got a letter, very kind & friendly—3 pages of note—enclosing a permit not to the strangers gallery but to special seats below. We feel considerably flattered & think he is one of the men [sic]. He is a very fine noble kind pleasant looking man. . . . We go to the House of Commons tomorrow, will hear Bright I expect .

3rd day morning, May 7th. We went out yesterday about 1 o'clock and visited the British Gallery of Fine Arts. . . . From there we went to Parliament buildings. Visited the House of Lords where a number of them were collected settling some law case. They appeared to take matters very slowly and easily, with their great grey curly wigs on and nice seats and tables—a very fine room. We found such a number of persons waiting that we tho't our chance of getting in to hear the House of Commons might be doubtful, especially as the policeman stopped us & told us to take our places & wait our turn, that they let them in by vote. The gallery only holds 100, & there were over 600 members I believe, and each one can admit a friend or two, so often there are many more than can get in & last night was considered an important evening. But as soon as we showed our paper from Bright they passed us in & showed us the best seat right in by the members where we could see & hear everything.

Bright came over & sat with us some time during the evening & pointed out most all the uncommon characters. We saw D'Israeli,[7] Gladstone,[8] J. Stewart Mills,[9] Fosset,[10] the professor of Economy at

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[6] Bright had traveled in 1836 in Mediterranean countries, later lecturing about his travels.

[7] Disraeli was leader of the House of Commons at this time, under Lord Derby's ministry.

[8] Gladstone, leader of Commons in 1866, was back in power in 1868 on Disraeli's defeat.

[9] This was evidently John Stuart Mill, then a member of Parliament and actively supporting various reform measures. Defeated in 1868 for re-election, he achieved later his reputation as England's foremost living philosopher and economist.

[10] Henry Fawcett, though totally blind as the result of a hunting accident, had been elected Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge University in 1863 and Member of Parliament for Brighton in 1865; he was a strong proponent of the Reform Bill.

Cambridge, Bass,[11] the largest brewer, the one who is so wealthy. Saw William Forster's son[12] and several others.

We heard Bright, Gladstone, D'Israeli speak several times, tho' at no great length. Bright is a very nice speaker and generally raised considerable applause and considerable laugh for he is lively & likes his fun. There was a great deal of opposition manifested between the two parties, the Ministerial & Liberals. They sat on opposite sides facing each other. We staid till after 11 P.M., going in at 4. I do not know how much longer they held. We were sorry to come away before seeing the vote put, but there seemed no near prospect of it so we left.

We are expecting to go to call upon Bevan Braithwaite[13] this evening. We will probably now call upon several Friends soon. John Bright said he had a son attending the University near us & he would call upon us & take us thro' it. . . .

One can imagine Calvin Pearson in his history classes at Earlham saying with an air of authority, "In 1867 when I saw John Bright in London . . .", and his lasting appreciation for the great man who had the humility and the patience to give time to further the education of two young American collegians.

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[11] Michael Arthur Bass, member of the fourth generation of a family of brewers and philanthropists, spent twenty-one years in Parliament, becoming in 1886 Baron Burton.

[12] William Edward Forster, son of the noted Friends minister who had made several religious journeys to America, was active in the woolen trade. In 1865 he became under-secretary for the colonies and later a member of Gladstone's cabinet.

[13] J. Bevan Braithwaite, leading Friends minister and scholar in the Gurney succession, had attended Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1865.

FRIENDLY NAMES IN THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

By ANNA B. HEWITT

In 1958 Supplement Two of the *Dictionary of American Biography* was published, bringing the work down to December 31, 1940. Printed below is a list of members of the Society of Friends, or those of Quaker ancestry, whose biographies appear in this volume.

Previous lists have appeared in the BULLETIN as follows: vol. 18 (1929), p. 104 (Allen-Bradford); vol. 19 (1930), p. 41 (Brown-Cuffe), p. 99 (Darlington-Easton); vol. 20 (1931), p. 33 (Eddy-Foster), p. 94 (Furnas-Grellet); vol. 21 (1932), p. 36 (Griscom-Hewes); vol. 24 (1935), pp. 94-98 (Hicks-Sellers); vol. 26 (1937), pp. 112-114 (Sharpless-Zane); vol. 36 (1947), pp. 87-88 (Supplement One).

Grace Abbott (1878-1939) — Social worker.
James Levi Barton (1855-1936) — Missionary and clergyman.
Smedley Darlington Butler (1881-1940) — Marine Corps officer.
Marius Robinson Campbell (1858-1940) — Geologist and physiographer.
Paul Drennan Cravath (1861-1940) — Lawyer.
William Preston Few (1867-1940) — Educator.
Charles Elmer Hires (1851-1937) — Soft drink manufacturer.
Frederic Clemson Howe (1867-1940) — Lawyer and reformer.
Robert Underwood Johnson (1853-1937) — Editor and poet.
Frank Morley (1860-1937) — Mathematician.
Alexander Mitchell Palmer (1872-1936) — Cabinet officer.
Henry Khunrath Pancoast (1875-1939) — Radiologist.
William Allen Pusey (1865-1940) — Dermatologist.
Herbert Weir Smyth (1857-1937) — Hellenist.
Witmer Stone (1866-1939) — Naturalist.
Edward Townsend Stotesbury (1849-1938) — Banker.
Benjamin Ricketson Tucker (1854-1939) — Individualist.
Margaret Floy Washburn (1871-1939) — Psychologist.

Quaker Research in Progress

Information concerning Quaker studies in progress or recently completed but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 774 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Anna M. Black, Route 1, Biglerville, Pennsylvania. History of Menallen Monthly Meeting.

Nancy R. Cox, 39 Commerce Street, New York 14, N. Y. The Quakers and President Grant's Peace Policy. (The Liberal Friends in the Northern Superintendency, 1869-1879.) New York University: American Civilization, thesis for A.M. degree, 1960.

Henry E. Fritz, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. The Humanitarian Background of American Indian Reform. University of Minnesota: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1960.

Paul J. Furnas, Farnum Road, Media, Pennsylvania. Allen Jay, 1831-1910.

E. P. Hennock, University College of North Staffordshire, Keele, Staffs, England. The Role of Religious Dissent in the Reform of Municipal Government in Birmingham, 1865-1876. (The work of the reformed Town Council under Joseph Chamberlain, including a discussion of the Quaker recruits to the movement and of these aspects of the new municipal philosophy that particularly appealed to them). Cambridge University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Completed.

Harold S. Hong, Methodist Theological Seminary, Seoul, Korea. A Critical Study of Pacifism in Modern Quakerism. Union Theological Seminary: thesis for S.T.M. degree. 1957.

William Roy Keeffe, 962 Valley Street, Manchester, New Hampshire. A Personality Theory Applied to George Fox and Robert Barclay. (An exploration of their personalities in the light of the psychology of Jung.) Boston University: Theological Studies, thesis for Ph.D. degree.

Alexander W. Kenworthy, 16 Queen Street, Ormond, Victoria, Australia. The Quaker Principle of Inner Light, Its Significance for Christian Education Theory. University of Chicago Divinity School: Religion and Personality, thesis for M.A. degree. 1959.

Jane B. Knowles, 4837 Cedar Avenue, Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania. The Nature of and Changes in Pre-Revolutionary Quaker Discipline. University of Pennsylvania.

Hubert Lidbetter, 2, Verulam Buildings, Grays Inn, London, W.C.1, England. Friends Meetinghouses, English and American, up to 1850.

Richard Schlegel, 211 Curwen Road, Rosemont, Pennsylvania. Romanticism and the Split in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1827.

Adona R. Sick, 306 McKinley Avenue, Endicott, N. Y. History of the Churches of Sullivan County, Pennsylvania. (The first religious service conducted in the county was held by the Society of Friends.)

Howard Reed Temperley, 10 Lincoln Street, New Haven, Connecticut. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1839-1868. Yale University: History, thesis for Ph. D. degree. 1960.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held on Eleventh Month 30, 1959, at the Race Street Meetinghouse in Philadelphia. President Richmond P. Miller was in the chair. In presenting its slate of Directors for a three-year term, the Nominating Committee reported that Horace Mather Lippincott, a member of the Board since 1927, did not desire reappointment. Warm appreciation was expressed for his thirty-two years of service—a record in the Association's annals. Arthur E. James was elected to serve in his place. The other four Directors whose terms expired at this meeting were re-elected.

After the brief business session, the Association listened with special interest to Howard H. Brinton, whose address on "Friends for Seventy-Five Years" is printed in this issue of the BULLETIN. The evening ended, as usual, with refreshments, the special feature of which was a huge cake in honor of the speaker's seventy-fifth birthday, which had occurred during the summer.

* * *

At the meeting of the Board of Directors on Tenth Month 8, 1959, it was reported that the archives of Merion Meeting, one of the oldest meetings in the Philadelphia area, had been carefully arranged and listed and were accessible under proper supervision at the meetinghouse. It was also announced that, through the courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, eight volumes of miscellaneous records of Darby Meeting, lately discovered at Hope Lodge, Fort Washington, had been turned over to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, an official depository of records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

The Curator, Katharine W. Elkinton, reported that the Association is cooperating actively with a special committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to provide attractive historical exhibits for the thousands of visitors who now come to the Arch Street Meetinghouse on their tour of the Independence Hall neighborhood. New exhibit cases have been installed containing a temporary exhibit of William Penn materials lent by the Friends Historical Library, and plans are under way for a permanent educational exhibit on Penn. The Board also heard with interest of the organization of a group of "Friends of Pennsbury" to promote public knowledge of Penn's restored mansion at Tullytown, Pennsylvania.

Book Reviews

Between God and History. The Human Situation Exemplified in Quaker Thought and Practice. By Richard K. Ullmann. London: George Allen & Unwin. 1959. 212 pages. $4.25.

The Quakers: A New Look at their Place in Society. By John Sykes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1959. 287 pages. $3.95

Between God and History uses the word "history" in a theological sense, "contingency in time and place," as well as with the more ordinary meaning, "development of human affairs in time." The author's theme is man's constant and inescapable tension between God and the world, between knowledge of eternal good and involvement in temporal evil. In this sense, he says, Friends have tended to be "historically ungrateful," for they have been too apt to assume that they are guided solely by God and thus that history cannot affect them. Unless Friends accept the tension between the eternal and the temporal they can be effective in neither realm. History has its "revenge" at times, when the Spirit fails and Friends, with few links with history, are left with nothing but "sectarian tradition and behaviour patterns."

This book is a theological treatise and not a history of Quakerism. However, numerous examples are taken from Quaker history to illustrate the author's points, especially in Chapters 3 and 4, entitled "The Quaker Attitude to History" and "The Quaker Attitude in History." A noteworthy example is the reference to the turn away from the world made by Fox and other Friends in 1659 when the temptation to engage in political—and therefore violent—action was particularly strong. Their decision to suffer evil rather than inflict it, says Ullmann, was one of the normal and inevitable alternations that Friends, and all Christians, must experience. One must leave the world in certain situations, not because of a defeat, but because it is the only way one can be his true self. Such withdrawal, of course, is only a preparation for the re-entry into the world when a new situation, or a new insight, makes such a return imperative. "Neither loyalty to principles nor calculation of effects makes the responsible agent, but being one's true self." A constant theme is the difference between "principle" and "testimony," between "doing" and "being."

The Quakers, although written as a history, is in fact a tract. The narrative is a vehicle for comments and judgments on the Society, and suggestions for future action. It is history with a point of view.

Early Friends are portrayed as social revolutionaries who wanted to change the society around them but could not because of their rejection of violence. When they could not achieve their initial aims, they adjusted to a secondary kind of life, heroic, but much less radical. Then, about 1720,

"abysmal caution" took control, to last until 1914. In the world, this meant the bourgeois life, acquisitiveness, and the use of the Quaker community to further commercial interests. In the realm of the spirit it marked the growth of orthodoxy and evangelism, which the author equates with authoritarianism and conservatism. He includes a very unflattering account of Stephen Grellet, whereas Elias Hicks is "the great Quaker commoner." Only about the time of the First World War did Friends again come to see that their contact with God could only be authenticated by action in society. This meant, not the acceptance of violence, but vigorous attempts to change the status quo.

The author's comments are fresh and provocative, but not always convincing. For instance, Fox, whom he interprets rather than describes, married Margaret Fell not as a woman but as a "mother image." Again, the Separation of 1827-1828 in America was "well-advised," for it preserved as Friends two irreconcilable parties that later did unite, whereas in England, without a separation, the Society almost disappeared. And, says the author, the adoption of the pastoral system in America was psychologically healthy for Quakerism because it brought into overt expression what had been troubling, suppressed tendencies.

Both of these books, representing quite different emphases in Quakerism, are worth reading by students of Quaker history. *The Quakers* should not be used as a source book but it does have helpful, even though arguable, insights. *Between God and History* is a more serious book. It, again, is not Quaker history based upon primary sources. But it is a solid piece of theological writing, highly pertinent to any Friend's understanding of his own and his Society's function in the world.

University of Pennsylvania Library LYMAN W. RILEY

David Lloyd: Colonial Lawmaker. By Roy N. Lokken. Seattle: The University of Washington Press. 1959. xiii, 305 pages. $5.00.

David Lloyd (1656?-1731), Quaker lawyer, politician, legislator, and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, is a neglected and misunderstood figure in a neglected and little-understood period of American colonial history. Hitherto, the fullest and most useful account of his career, apart from Burton Alva Konkle's unpublished biography, now deposited at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, has been Isaac Sharpless's brief sketch in his *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (1919), which admittedly raises more questions than it can answer. The neglect and misunderstanding are easily explained. Few personal documents have survived, and most contemporary references are darkly colored by the animus of Lloyd's political enemies, especially James Logan. The facts of his career must be quarried out of the legislative and legal records of early Pennsylvania, and all too few historians have been tempted to venture into that particular quarry. Instead, they have been satisfied to accept Lloyd at his opponents' valuation as an unscrupulous and crafty demagogue or, what is even less justifiable, to see him through the spec-

tacles of their own preconceptions as a "democrat," a precursor of Jeffersonian liberalism. It is the chief virtue of Roy Lokken's book that, putting aside preconceived ideas, he has ventured into the unexplored and forbidding regions of early Pennsylvania politics in search of the real David Lloyd.

The image that emerges is in some respects still blurred and indistinct. The writing lacks literary distinction. The tone of the book is heavily legal and technical, though that may have been inevitable, given the nature and limitations of the sources. Due notice is taken of Lloyd's role in Quaker affairs—he was apparently a solider Friend than Logan—and his activities as a landholder and speculator—he was "one of the wealthiest landowners in Pennsylvania," in fact, "a landed aristocrat" (p. 188)—but there is little effort to explore the implications of these facts. Nevertheless —and this is a genuine contribution—we now have a reliable connected narrative of Lloyd's career as the resourceful organizer and leader of the anti-Proprietary forces in the Pennsylvania Assembly and a skillful lawyer who successfully adapted English common law to colonial jurisprudence. There is no hero-image here, no disposition to exonerate Lloyd from Logan's charges that he was temperamentally vindictive and, upon occasion, unethical in forcing his favorite measures through the legislature. But Lokken demonstrates clearly what Logan admitted only grudgingly: that Lloyd was a master both of the law and of the art of politics. In his unrelenting struggle against the Proprietary prerogative he forged his Quaker following into an effective instrument of domestic political control and, by virtue of his legal knowledge, was a creative shaper of American institutions. We no longer have to say, as Isaac Sharpless said, forty years ago, that Lloyd has not "received the attention which his undoubtedly great public services demand."

F. B. T.

The Trail of the Black Walnut. By G. Elmore Reaman. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press. 1957. 256 pp. $5.00.

The trail of the black walnut was the trail that led migrating Pennsylvanians to Ontario in the post-Revolutionary period. Both Quakers and Pennsylvania Dutch farmers were involved in this northward migration, and both left their impress upon Ontario and Canada. George Elmore Reaman, Dean of Men at Waterloo College, University of Western Ontario, is a descendant of families who made this trek a century and a half ago, and his book is a pioneer attempt at viewing the emigration from Pennsylvania as a unity.

The migration which took Pennsylvanians northward to Canada was a fringe thrust of the great Westward Movement of early American history, the movement which Rufus Jones referred to, dealing with its Quaker phase, as the "Quaker hegira." The migration had economic, religious, and political motivation, although only part of the emigrants can be considered "United Empire Loyalists" in the strict sense of the term.

Ontario represented something new and different, culturally speaking, in the British Empire of post-Revolutionary times. When British emigrants arrived in Ontario directly from Britain in the early nineteenth century, they found some areas already settled by groups and dominated by farming patterns which had been shaped by life in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. The settlement of whole counties of Ontario was, in fact, marked with this Pennsylvania influence. Reaman deals with these influences in Chapter IV, "Contributions to Canadian Agriculture," and Chapter V, "Contributions to Canadian Cultural Life." He is at his best in describing the Pennsylvania elements in Ontarian agriculture — the bank barn, the Conestoga horse, crop-rotation — which made Ontarian agriculture different from British agriculture. Chapter V is concerned with religion. Here Reaman deals with Quaker patterns, normative and aberrant (including the "Children of Peace," a picture of whose curious foursquare temple is included among the illustrations). He attributes the gradual decline of Ontarian Quakerism to intermarriage with non-Quakers and more especially to conversion to Methodism — a parallel case to what happened to many of the Friends settlements in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The principal value of Reaman's book is his study of the transplantation of eighteenth-century Pennsylvanian farming culture patterns to nineteenth-century Ontario. His descriptions of pioneer life in Ontario in the early nineteenth century are noteworthy. As such the book is a contribution to the history of the Westward Movement. But while the author attempts to see the Pennsylvania migration as a unity, unfortunately he insists on the term "ethnic group" for the migrating Pennsylvanians, in which he includes both Quakers and "Germans." He even persists in thinking of the "Huguenots" as a self-conscious sub-group as part of his American-Canadian migration.

For Quakers the book will not have the value that it will for those interested in the migrations of German-speaking Pennsylvanians. It will not supersede Arthur G. Dorland's *History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (1927), which seems to have been Reaman's chief source for his Quaker materials. The chapter on the migration itself (Chapter III) has detailed information on individual pioneer families, county by county, which will interest Quaker genealogists. Several appendices also give genealogical information on the pioneer settlers.

The University of Pennsylvania DON YODER

Through Flaming Sword: A Spiritual Biography of George Fox. By Arthur O. Roberts. Portland, Oregon: Barclay Press. 1959. 113 pages. $3.00.

George Fox and the Quakers. By Henry van Etten. Translated from the French by E. Kelvin Osborn. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1959. 191 pages. $1.35.

Henry van Etten's little book is a delightful and succinct survey of

Quaker history. Arthur Roberts lays much-needed stress on George Fox's challenge to perfection and to a gathered church. Thus each book fills an important niche in Quaker literature.

In his first six chapters Roberts creditably traces Fox's ministry and entire career. In the highly important seventh chapter he traces the "holiness legacy of George Fox" and Fox's concept of the church through Quaker history. Christ's call to perfection and freedom from sin in this life was central to Fox's message. Roberts presents Fox's most convincing argument for it thus: "In blunt language Fox charged that the doctrine that 'people must be in sin while they be upon earth' nullifies the sacrifice of Christ; it is to 'make Christ's dying in vain and the one offering of no value, which hath perfected forever all them that are sanctified, and his blood of none effect, which cleanseth from all sin!' " From this Roberts makes a powerful plea for holiness-pacifism: a peace testimony based on the conviction that it is impossible for those whom Christ has delivered and purified to kill their brothers. Only a step from this is the author's emphatic support of Fox's view that the church can only be a gathered, holy people whom Christ has drawn to himself by his living immediate presence. In this connection Roberts ably defends the *voluntarily supported* pastoral system as not inconsistent with the support of public Friends in the early days.

A few of the weaknesses of the book are: (1) acceptance as fact of the unproved conjecture that a maternal ancestor of Fox was martyred by Mary Tudor; (2) an inadequate treatment of Fox's mysticism, with quotations from poor sources; (3) an amazing lack of stress on Fox's sense of his *own* sin and darkness before his experience of deliverance; (4) an astonishing paucity of references to Braithwaite's two volumes on early Quakerism, which scholars generally consider definitive; and (5) an unwarranted attack on Calvinism, which is actually the historical source of the call to perfection and holiness so much prized by the author.

In his charming book Henry van Etten reveals his definition of Christianity: "For Quakers, Christianity is essentially an experience of the light of Christ in the soul, and a way of life based on that experience." He also adopts as his own Edward Grubb's immortal statement: "Christian unity consists not in *uniformity* of creeds and practices, but in a *common spirit* of loyalty to Jesus Christ, based on a common experience of His power in our souls." Van Etten treats the question of the Inner Light in a well-rounded fashion, but he is at his best in his narrative of William Penn.

Van Etten's lucid little book should be valuable to persons inquiring about Friends, while Arthur Roberts' presentation of Fox's call to perfection and to the gathered church ought to be pondered seriously by all Friends.

Nelscott, Oregon T. CANBY JONES

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* XCV (1959), 41-51, publishes "John Greenleaf Whittier to Harriet McEwen Kimball: Eight Letters," edited by Lewis E. Weeks, Jr. It is good to have these simple letters of friendship to a young poetess now in print for the first time. The editing is rather overdone. A personal estimate of the quality of Whittier's poetry in general is the article "What I Had I Gave: Another Look at Whittier" by Hyatt H. Waggoner in the same issue (pp. 32-40).

* * *

In the light of newly available materials Norman McCord has written a new appraisal of *The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-1846* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1958, 226 pages). Because of the prominence in the League and in the book of John Bright and Joseph Sturge among other Quakers, mention of the book is appropriate here.

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Mary Schaffer, a pioneer explorer, is the subject of an article, "A Quaker in Buckskin" by Elsie Park Gowan in the *Alberta Historical Review,* Vol. V, No. 3 (Summer, 1957), 1-6, 24-28.

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The *Library Journal* publishes an account of "A Little-Known Friends Library" by Sophia Hall Glidden, LXXXIII (1958), 3070-1, dealing with the excellent collection of records at Friends Meeting House, 221 East 15th St., New York, and properly assigning most of the credit for it to the late John Cox, Jr.

* * *

Richard D. Gray deals with "Early Plans and Frustrations" as Part I of "The Early History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal" in *Delaware History,* VIII (1959), 207-254. The principal initial promoter was the Quaker Thomas Gilpin.

* * *

Robert Allerton Parker's *The Transatlantic Smiths* (New York: Random House, 1959, 237 pages) is the skillful and intimate portrayal of the vicissitudes of a New Jersey Quaker family that transplanted itself to England. It deals with Hannah Whitall Smith (author of *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life,* the only Quaker "best seller"), her husband, and the three children, Mary, the friend of Walt Whitman, Alys, the first Mrs. Bertrand Russell, and Logan Pearsall Smith, the literary critic. Celebrities of every variety crowd these pages of family chronicle and gossip covering the century from 1851 to 1951.

Writing in the *American Quarterly,* XI (1959), 157-165, Robert J. Lowenherz gives the background for "Roger Williams and the Great Quaker Debate" in 1672: *viz.,* the Quaker experiences of extreme authority in Massachusetts and Williams' experience of anarchism in Rhode Island. Each side was therefore affected to extreme vigor by the recent past, and the debates must be considered against the problem, partly religious and partly secular. Roger Williams sought a middle way between the poles of absolutism and anarchy and he emphasized those features of Quakerism which seemed to him too individualistic or even immoral.

* * *

The *Guide* to the Manuscript Collections in the Library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, compiled by Elizabeth C. Biggert (Columbus, Ohio, 1953), includes a rather large proportion of Quaker items, not merely the meeting records listed under "Friends," but a number of items connected with slavery, etc., or with Quaker families.

* * *

The Library of Congress, having completed its collection of all the early editions of the major works of John and William Bartram, publishes in its *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* (XV [1958], 51-59), an inclusive article on "America's First Native Botanists" by J. M. Edelstein. It includes, besides a review of their lives and writings, reference to their important literary influence in belles lettres.

* * *

"Quaker Relief in the Balkans after 1918" (1945, 107 pages) is a rather inaccessible unit (R-107) in the recently declassified *Studies of Migration and Settlement: Report Series* (Washington, 1943-45). It was prepared by the staff of "M" Project on the basis of the AFSC archives at Haverford.

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The Ward Lecture for 1959 by Dorothy Gilbert Thorne is devoted to a limited contemporary topic, *Quakerism in Fiction and Poetry Written by Women.* With delicacy of literary appreciation she introduces the reader to a variety of writing Quakeresses.

* * *

Mary Blue Coppock (Mrs. M. L. Coppock, Sr.) writes on "Stella Friends Academy" in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XXXVII (1959), 175-181. Quakers established this pioneer academy at a time when there was only one high school in Oklahoma Territory. It opened in 1897 in a large tabernacle tent, since the building had not been completed. The academy was closed in 1921 when high schools had been established all over Oklahoma.

Opal Thornburg did well a difficult task in compiling the sesquicentennial history, *Whitewater: Indiana's First Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1809-1959* (32 pages, illustrated). Few monthly meetings have been more influential than this or have had a more complex history. Like persons, it has other Monthly Meetings as both ancestors and descendants, some of the latter as far away from Richmond as Kansas, Chicago, Arkansas, and Florida. Certain individuals figure prominently in its history — Elijah Coffin, Charles F. and Rhoda Coffin, and Timothy Nicholson. (For good measure a complete list of clerks is given, as well as a bibliography and a chronology.) The Hicksite and Antislavery Separations are very briefly referred to, but more space is given to the steps by which revivalism, music, Sunday Schools, and pastors were introduced. Of course this meeting was close to the Yearly Meeting, the Five Years Meeting, and Earlham College.

* * *

The "Letters of Martha Logan to John Bartram, 1760-1763," edited by Mary Barbot Prior in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine,* LIX (1958), 38-46, are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and are condensed botanical correspondence. The writer was an elderly widow lady of Charleston with a fine garden of her own.

* * *

Of scores of anniversary histories of local meetings few are more inclusive than *Quaker Historical Collections: Springfield Friends Meeting, 1809-1959, near Wilmington, Clinton County, Ohio* (1959, 108 pages). Compiled by a committee, it includes pictures and several essays, unpublished or republished, as the story of "Friends with Lincoln at the White House," by Nellie Blessing Eyster, the travel book of Jonathan T. Hadley (1814-1841), and a sixty-page chronology of the meeting and community, in which the Hadleys and Harveys were most numerous and prominent.

* * *

In *American Heritage,* X, no. 6 (October 1959), pp. 18-21, 107, 111, Peter Lyon writes on "The Herald Angels of Woman's Rights," Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Quakeress Susan B. Anthony. Their long partnership, with occasional quarrels, is described in a vivid way, showing the complications, scandal, and prejudice with which their crusade had to deal.

* * *

A well-written and well-illustrated brochure is *Brinton 1704 House,* published by the Brinton Family Association (1959, 16 pages). The house is on the original tract of the Quaker who in 1684 left England and established the Brinton family in America. It has been restored by the Association and provided with period furnishings.

Two articles of Quaker historical interest appear in *Inward Light,* Vol. XXII, no. 57 (Summer 1959). Howard H. Brinton describes "The Authority of the Inward Light in Quakerism." Teresina Havens, writing on "Step by Step Guidance," suggests from John Woolman's *Journal* a variety of processes of guidance which he illustrates there.

* * *

A little-known chapter in American Quaker history is described in full by Frederick B. Tolles in the *New England Quarterly,* XXXII (1959), 291-319, under the title, "The New-Light Quakers of Lynn and New Bedford." It is a phenomenon similar to the Hicksite controversy in America and the parallels in England and Ireland, but it was prior to the former and independent of it. In both Massachusetts Quaker centers a small group of rationalist or anti-authoritarian Friends rebelled against the controls of the traditionally orthodox. The rebels in New Bedford, unlike those in Lynn, belonged to the best families. In both cases they were disowned but were unable to create a lasting splinter group. In New Bedford they generally joined the Unitarian church, and a few of them were influential friends of Emerson. The article uncovers a wide variety of sources of information.

In the *Bulletin* of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum (Winter 1960), pp. 1-4, under the title "New Light on an Old Subject," is an appreciative anonymous review of the above article, with additional material on a later development in the Unitarian church in New Bedford centering around its ultra-liberal minister, William J. Potter, a birthright Quaker who, however, had found Friends too "Calvinistic" in doctrine and too "sectarian" in spirit.

* * *

The portion of the manuscript Journal at Friends House, London, which deals with John Candler's visit to Jamaica from April 15 to June 17, 1850, has been transcribed by Joseph Boromé (cf. this BULLETIN, XLVIII, 21) and published in *The Jamaican Historical Review,* III (1959), 1-33, under the title "A Good Friend in our Midst." Candler and his companion had come to look into social and religious conditions as they had developed since the ending of slavery and his earlier visit in 1840. He also held meetings frequently "after the manner of Friends" on First Days with Christians of the local churches.

An article in the same issue (March 1959), pp. 52-57, contains slight reference to Friends on the island. It is a letter written by Francis Crow, a Nonconformist minister, in 1687, and is contributed and edited by Henry J. Cadbury.

* * *

Peter Stuyvesant and His New York by Henry H. Kessler and Eugene Rachlis (New York: Random House, 1959) has a chapter on "Controversy over Conscience" in which, following the government's trouble with Lutherans and Jews, the early experience of the Quakers is described (pp.

186-196). This includes the *Woodhouse* visitors, the Flushing Remonstrance, and the case of John Bowne.

* * *

Edmund Burke, as is well known, was a pupil in Abraham Shackleton's Quaker school at Ballitore. It is not surprising that the first volume of the new and completer edition of the *Correspondence of Edmund Burke* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), edited by Thomas W. Copeland, begins with letters exclusively to Richard Shackleton, his schoolfellow and his schoolmaster's son, from 1744 to 1748. Burke was at Trinity College, Dublin. They are not very revealing, even of Burke, and only indirectly of the young Quaker.

* * *

In "Quaker Knowledge of Quaker Folklore" *(Keystone Folklore Quarterly,* IV [Spring-Summer 1959], 101-105, Maurice A. Mook discusses a Quaker children's rhyme ("Quaker, Quaker, how is thee? . . .") and the old Quaker calendar rhyme, "The fourth, eleventh, ninth, and sixth/ Have thirty days to each affixed. . ."). In this article (cf. his treatment of the same material in the *Friends Journal,* V [1959] (584-586) he emphasizes that the realistic folklorist must give attention "not only to the words and style of oral literature, but also to the social context. . . ."

* * *

In *West Virginia History,* XX (1959), 163-183, Jeanette Mather Lord has written an account of John Brown in the Springdale, Iowa, Quaker community and especially of his Quaker associates Edwin and Barclay Coppoc. Entitled "John Brown—They Had a Concern," it is based in part on local and family memories and describes graphically the fatal participation of the Quaker brothers.

* * *

Dwight L. Smith relates how "Some Irish Quakers Come to Cincinnati" in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio *Bulletin,* XVII (1959), 290-298. He publishes letters of George Valentine, who came to America from Ireland in 1818, written to his brother in Ireland.

* * *

"The Early Quakers," by Frederick Walker in *The Freeman,* VIII, no. 6 (June 1959), pp. 17-20, is an argument for economic freedom in a periodical which vigorously opposes government restriction, taxation, or efforts at compulsory social welfare. It shows how Quakerism, though violently persecuted and opposed by church and state, was able, because of the then available economic freedom, to use private enterprise with great success and to benefit society as a whole, practicing only such restrictions as were wholly voluntary.

* * *

The *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. IV (Scottdale, 1959), contains two articles of interest here. That on the "Society of Friends" by Harold S. Bender deals especially with the relations between Mennonites and Friends in ancient and recent times. Robert Friedmann, writing under the

heading "Spiritualism," rather identifies Quakerism as belonging there. Items of Quaker interest in earlier volumes include those on the American Friends Service Committee, William Ames, and William Penn.

An historical paper by Marion H. Longshore, "Neshamina Monthly Meeting, now Middletown Monthly Meeting, 1683-1958, Langhorne, Pennsylvania," was presented at the 275th anniversary and duplicated in typescript form (12 pages). It is a well-balanced account, telling from the minutes of the successive meetinghouses, the school, the graveyard, and also of the concern for Friends' testimonies, as they affected the local meeting.

* * *

Newtown 275th Anniversary, Newtown, Pennsylvania 1684-1959 is a booklet of 50 pages (plus advertisements), dealing in text and pictures with every phase of the life of this old Bucks County town. As New Township it was established by Penn near his own estate at Pennsbury. The initial Quaker interest of some of its first settlers was renewed in 1815 when a Friends meeting was established (Makefield Monthly Meeting, 1820). Edward Hicks, Quaker minister and primitive painter, also lived here until his death in 1849. There is a Friends Home (1899), a Friends elementary school (1948), and also, nearby, George School (1892).

* * *

Ruth Fawell contributes to the pamphlet series of Quaker Biographies one on Joan Mary Fry (London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1959, 65 pages and portrait). It is an unusually vivid portrayal of a strong and memorable character. It mentions briefly but faithfully her less usual traits —vegetarianism and spiritualism—but at more length her universally acceptable capacities for service and friendship. Her disciplined concern for the spiritual life of Quakerism is stressed, along with her prolonged participation in Quaker service in Germany and in the allotments scheme in England. Her family relations are emphasized but many of her friends are not mentioned. There are some errors in date, and the year of her death is not given, I believe, at all. But after all she was over ninety.

* * *

The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol. I, 1833-1836, edited by Stephen E. Whicher and Robert E. Spiller (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959) prints the lecture on George Fox (pp. 164-182), one of six biographical lectures given in Boston in 1835. Factually, it was based largely on Sewel's *History* and is of interest chiefly as showing how Fox fitted into the ideals of personality that Emerson entertained. Emerson's interest in Quakerism is otherwise known to us. This document, long unpublished and unusable, is now happily available in a clean, well-edited copy.

* * *

An attractive illustrated account of *Spiceland Meeting House: Its Historical Background,* by Hubert Fox (Author, Bridgewater, Somerset, 1959,

26 pages) deals fully with the subject of its title in the seventeenth century. The present house, erected in place of an earlier one in 1815, needs financial help, and for this reason the pamphlet was written. It is, however, of wider interest, since many Quaker families lived in the vicinity at one time, and the account of the Friends of the area is typical.

* * *

In *Rhode Island History,* XVI (1957), are two documentary items connected with the Quaker Revolutionary general: a continuation of "Nathanael Greene's Letters to Friend 'Sammy' Ward," by Clifford P. Monahon and Clarkson A. Collins, 3rd (pp. 53-57, 79-88), and "Nathanael Greene: A Biographical Sketch by a Contemporary, Joseph Reed" (pp. 41-48).

* * *

Writing on "The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development," Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin,* CXLIX (1951), 79-107, Merle H. Deardorff shows in detail the Quaker influence on the influential and lasting "Good Message" of this remarkable Seneca preacher.

* * *

In *The Paper Maker,* XXVII, no. 2 (1958), 1-12, Harold B. Hancock and Norman B. Wilkinson have an illustrated article on the Quakers, "Thomas and Joshua Gilpin, Papermakers." Compare their article noticed in this BULLETIN, XLVII, 57f.

* * *

The Journal of Southern History, XXV (1959), 159-177, contains an article on "The Failure of the American Abolitionists" by Merton L. Dillon. It gives a valuable background for the present and earlier concern of Friends about slavery and its aftermath and shows with good documentation that "although slavery was ended by the Civil War, racial prejudice was not; for abolition had come through the use of military power, without general willingness to relinquish the idea of racial inequality."

* * *

In describing "Dr. Fothergill's Friendship with Benjamin Franklin" Betsy Copping Corner begins with their correspondence on Franklin's scientific experiments and continues with their vigorous but unsuccessful joint efforts to prevent the outbreak of the American Revolution. The article uses new materials. It is published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* CII (1958), 413-419.

* * *

Susanna Wright is the subject of a noteworthy article by Marion Wallace Reninger in the *Journal* of the Lancaster County Historical Society, LXIII (1959), 183-189. She never married but kept house for her father and then for her former lover, Samuel Blunston. She was a woman of culture and practical skill and she had as friends men of similar tastes. She is said to have died in 1784, aged 87, and to have been buried in the old Quaker burial ground at Columbia, Pennsylvania. The article includes letters between her and Benjamin Franklin.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

The American Friend

In July 1959, a statue of Mary Dyer designed by Sylvia Shaw Judson was erected on the State House grounds in Boston. George A. Selleck reviews the story of her martyrdom, and a picture of the statue appears as the cover of this issue—August 10, 1959, pp. 244-245. A similar report and illustration appear in the *Friends Journal*.—Aug. 8, 1959, pp. 444-446.

A note by Margaret Kohler, of Surrey, England, quotes the minute which transferred the membership of four minor children of Morris Birkbeck from Guildford Meeting, England, to Whitewater Meeting, Illinois, in 1818.—Aug. 24, 1959, p. [272].

Recorded is an incident revealing the conscientious scruples of Dr. Edward Robinson Squibb, founder of E. R. Squibb and Sons, against excessive profits from the sale of land.—Oct. 19, 1959, p. [336].

The Friend

The Coalbrookdale Company, Shropshire, was 250 years old in 1959. In 1709 the first successful smelting of iron with coke took place in these works. Information about the important achievements of the company and about its founders and long-time proprietors, the Darby family, is provided by Arthur Raistrick.—Sept. 4, 1959, pp. 993-995.

L. Hugh Doncaster in "The Boston Martyrs. A Tercentenary," reviews and comments on the events leading to the execution of four Friends in Boston in 1659-1660.—Oct. 30, 1959, pp. 1269-1271.

Friends Journal

"Donne and Fox on Women's Souls" (Letter from the Past No. 178) is a comment on a statement from George Fox's *Journal* and on like expressions of his near-contemporary, John Donne.—Aug. 22, 1959, p. 462.

Letter from the Past No. 179, "Peter and Nikita," outlines the contacts between Friends and Czar Peter I of Russia who in 1698, like Premier Khruschev in 1959, visited the West (in this case England and Holland). —Oct. 10, 1959, pp. 538-539.

On the occasion of the tercentenary of the hanging of four Quakers in Boston, Letter from the Past No. 180 mentions other places "Where the Martyrs Died"—Anabaptists under Zwinglians, Servetus under Calvin, and various political martyrs of our own day and earlier.—Oct. 24, 1959, pp. 569-570.

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